THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE DEGREE TO WHICH ROMAN CATHOLIC influence dominates public education was demonstrated last week when Dr. John S. Herron, Superintendent of Schools of Newark, New Jersey, banned *The Nation* from the local high-school libraries and ordered the schools to cancel their subscriptions. The reason Dr. Herron gave for his action—taken without authorization of the Newark Board of Education—was that *The Nation* had published three "virulent, anti-Catholic articles attacking the fundamental religious principles of the Catholic Church in the areas of marriage, birth control, and the family." Regular *Nation* readers will recall Paul Blanshard's articles in our issues of November 1, 8, and 15, and be able to correct Dr. Herron's description of them. What Mr. Blanshard did in his notable series was expose and criticize Roman Catholic doctrine as it affects several fields of conduct that are directly the concern of the state and of the people generally. They had nothing whatever to do with "fundamental religious principles" unless the attitude of the church on such matters as medical ethics, marriage, divorce, and education is a "religious principle" and so immune from criticism. We consider Dr. Herron's action a form of censorship which goes far to justify Mr. Blanshard's charge, in his article on The Catholic Church and Education, that "the Roman Catholic hierarchy . . . claims the right to censor all general education and, to effect this object, encourages Catholics to control local boards of education where possible and to place Catholics in key positions as teachers and officials in the public-school system." *The Nation* has requested the Newark Board of Education to hold an open hearing at which we can present our objections to the arbitrary decision of the Superintendent of Schools.

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IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WELCOME THE announcement that an organization has been formed by leading Protestants to reaffirm the principle of separation of church and state and to fight against sectarian influences, particularly in education. No move could be more timely. In its initial statement, the group points out the progress recently made by the Roman Catholic church in "winning for itself a position of special privilege in relation to the state," citing as instances the President's special Vatican representative and various forms of public aid to sectarian schools. The organization, which calls itself, rather ponderously, Protestants and Other Americans for the Separation of Church and State, plans a nation-wide campaign to arouse the general public to the dangers of the social and political policies of the Roman Catholic church. We warmly commend this initiative and direct the urgent attention of the new group to the latest manifestation of Catholic censorship in Newark, New Jersey.

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THE GREAT DEBATE BEGAN WELL, WITH Secretary Marshall's vigorous, all-or-nothing statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee demanding a European Recovery Program large enough to rebuild the economy of the Continent and free from conditions which would infringe upon the sovereignty of the sixteen cooperating states. His attack on anticipated attempts to whittle down the $6,800,000,000 required for the first fifteen months was uncompromising; the amount was not an "asking figure," he said, but a "realistic appraisal" of what was needed if the money was to be more than a dole. He repudiated a hopeful suggestion by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin that places like "Iceland and the Caribbean islands" might be acquired as "outlying bases" in return for American assistance. In proposing a small agency headed by an administrator acting under the overall authority of the Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall invited Senatorial criticism, not only from Republicans but from some Democrats as well who would like to keep the E. R. P. more directly under the control of Congress. He was firm, however, in insisting upon the necessity of coordinating the recovery program with the government's foreign policy. His failure to discuss the relationship of Germany to the E. R. P. drew a question from Senator Vandenberg. Mr. Marshall replied that it was essential that Western Germany be included, and then added, under Vandenberg's polite prodding, that the United States was no longer waiting on decisions of the Foreign Ministers before proceeding with plans for Germany. That would seem to fix a final and ominous period to the peace-making efforts of the Big Four.

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BUT MR. MARSHALL'S BLUNT LANGUAGE will not spare the program from attack, most of it political in character and reactionary in purpose. When Ambassador Douglas, who will help pilot E. R. P. through Congress, took the stand on the second day, the

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Editor: Freda Kirchwey

European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
J. King Gordon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams
Aylmer Vallance, Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Editor Jerry Tallmer
Copy Editor Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Shirley May Segan
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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opposition in the committee had already begun to crystallize. Not only were objections voiced to the proposed administrative setup; some members, including Democratic Senator George of Georgia, sharply criticized Mr. Marshall for giving Congress a virtual ultimatum as to the amount of money needed. Even Senator Vandenberg suggested that the Secretary of State had seasoned logic with "propaganda," and warned Mr. Douglas that the plan in its present form would never win the confidence of the people. Taft, of course, flatly opposed the amount Mr. Marshall demanded, insisting that $5,000,000,000 would be the absolute limit. It is also clear, even at this early date, that the majority representatives, both in the committee and in the Senate itself, will fight for conditions in the final plan favoring private investments in the cooperating countries. Last week's hearings gave only a foretaste of what lies ahead.

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IF MR. TRUMAN'S STATE-OF-THE-UNION message left Congress unaroused, we shall not hold his oratorical shortcomings against him. The message was one of his best, and, more important, it set the Democratic course for the coming campaign. The New Deal is still the issue. This was a double dose of bad news for the Republicans, first, because they are forced again to engage in the kind of battle that has defeated them four times running, and, second, because the more progressive the President's position the less chance has Henry Wallace to draw off Democratic votes to the obvious, if unintended, advantage of the G. O. P. We do not agree with everything in the message, of course, and particularly we are inclined to share Keith Hutchison's view, set forth in his article on page 67, that the Truman tax plan smacks more of politics than of economics. Above all, we feel that the President bears too much responsibility for the housing fiasco to go before Congress and talk glibly of seeing "that every American family has a decent home." But the rest of the program was straight New Deal.

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THERE WAS NO HEDGING IN MR. TRUMAN'S call for protection of America's natural wealth "against those who would misuse it for selfish gain" or in his request for more TVA's, with modernization of the farm price-support program, "encouragement" to cooperatives, and more rural electrification. Nor could he have been more pointed in his demand for expansion of industrial capacity and support for competition, "limited today in many industries by the concentration of economic power and other elements of monopoly." The President minced no words concerning his unchanged opinion of the Taft-Hartley act (although he rather unnecessarily promised to support it); he was specific in asking a raise in the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour; and he

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sought to gear labor's income not only to fair prices and profits but to increasing productivity as well. Proposing again his ten-point anti-inflation program, he once more, and rightly, put upon Congress the responsibility for heading off disaster. And as though in direct reply to the Wallace followers, he urged the European Recovery Program, with repeated emphasis, as a policy that "leads to peace—not war." It is no wonder that Republican leaders muttered "Roosevelt" and held their heads.

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THIS WEEK, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE Supreme Court of the United States weighs the validity of restrictive covenants—those real-estate agreements which, enforced "in perpetuity," have crowded America's minority racial groups into housing ghettos since Reconstruction. The court will hear argument on cases concerning property ownership and tenancy by three Negroes and a Mohawk Indian. Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman has asked leave to present an hour's oral argument, an unprecedented action for the government to take in cases to which it is not a party. The Department of Justice has buttressed Mr. Perlman's position with a strong *amicus curiae* brief to show that enforcement of the covenants is unconstitutional. By last week, twenty-three organizations had also filed briefs as "friends of the court." All except the real-estate fraternity urged that restrictive covenants be declared illegal. The hearing and the court's decision will be of inestimable importance to every citizen of this democracy; we shall comment on both in coming issues.

*

BLOOMER GIRLS ARE NOW CONFINED TO musical comedies, but the fight for women's rights has not ended. A small number of American women are at this moment being discriminated against in a way that is as needless and petty as the Soviet government's refusal to let Russian wives of Britons join their husbands in England. The situation here is that, while American men —native or naturalized—may bring alien wives quota-free to the United States, American women who served as WAACS or nurses or with UNRRA may not bring over, on the same terms, alien husbands they met and married overseas. In one instance, an American woman —whose family has lived here for 327 years, no less— has been refused permission to bring her Greek husband to America until his turn comes up under the quota, a decade hence. With Congress now in renewed session, we want to urge the prompt adoption of House Resolution 2765, which will permit entry, outside the quota, of alien husbands of American citizens married before July 1, 1945. The date ought of course to be advanced or eliminated. The bill is only an emergency measure, if an important one; the discrimination against women under the Immigration Act of 1924 will remain. The act should now be amended in any one of several intelligent ways that have been suggested to the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration. Readers who agree should write to Senator Revercomb, chairman of the subcommittee, and tell him so.

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THE STATE DEPARTMENT REMINDS US ALL too often of the man who couldn't keep up with his newspaper reading but insisted on going through his accumulated stock in sequence. At last reports, he was three years behind and still losing ground. The news that the dear old department barred John Haynes Holmes from Japan for having dangerous thoughts in India is enough to make one wonder whether the gentlemen in striped pants have yet come, in their reading of history, to the place where an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The silly part of it is that the army, in the person of General MacArthur himself, had given Mr. Holmes permission to spend several weeks in Japan. But a State Department representative in India reported to his superiors in Washington that Mr. Holmes and his son were making remarks of an "unfortunate character" in India; the State Department sent the reports "informatively" to the War Department; and when Mr. Holmes applied for a visa in India, he was told that the permit authorized by MacArthur had been withdrawn by the State Department. What Mr. Holmes said that seemed so unfortunate has not been divulged. You don't catch the State Department willingly revealing the charges against the accused. We trust that General Marshall will reverse the decision, as he has been requested to do by the Civil Liberties Union. And we suggest that he send to each employee of the State Department a memo to the effect that the year is 1948. The copy that goes to the unfortunate character in India who tattled on Mr. Holmes should perhaps be done in braille.

*

THE NEW YEAR OPENED INAUSPICIOUSLY for the medical profession in Southern California. In the city of Santa Ana, twenty-four physicians declined to answer an emergency call from police officials to attend a seventy-six-year-old man who proceeded to die without benefit of medical aid. In the same city, Marine Technical Sergeant Forrest L. Ewing and his wife complained that their child had died after they had tried unsuccessfully for two hours to summon a doctor. Then the Better Business Bureau of Los Angeles issued a report charging that the doctors were parties to a large-scale fee-splitting deal with the various clinical laboratories and X-ray firms. Several standard laboratories admitted charging doctors one dollar for a Wassermann test for which the patient paid them five dollars—the doctor pocketing the spare four dollars. According to

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the report, "the profession is allowed a 50 per cent discount on all standard clinical laboratory and X-ray fees." Perhaps this clandestine source of revenue, so carefully concealed from the patient, may account for the failure of members of the profession to respond to calls for aid from a dying man and the frantic appeals of a couple with a dying child. The basic question, of course, is whether it is possible to maintain professional standards of honesty and public service in a society in which profit is constantly glorified as the chief "democratic" incentive to effort.

News from Greece

AN EDITORIAL note in a recent copy of the Athens Liberal Party newspaper, *To Bima,* drew our attention away, for a moment, from the current headlines about Greece: When arrested, the note said, "an unarmed Communist who had taken part in a demonstration before the Ministry of Health was found to have Communist leaflets in his pockets. Arraigned before the Special Military Tribunal of Athens, this Communist was sentenced to death, even though the public prosecutor had advised that the accused be given a prison sentence of only ten years." We saw the same incident reported in three other non-Communist newspapers received from Athens. We do not, however, recall having seen a word about it in the dispatches from Athens to the American newspapers and wire services. (Suppose a comparable outrage had happened in Poland or Hungary. Would the whole American press have passed it up?)

Caution is the word for the reports from Greece appearing in such volume in our newspapers these days, particularly reports on guerrilla successes and failures. They are usually based on the handouts issued either by Foreign Minister Constantin Tsaldaris's royalist information office or by the fascist military clique. Since early last year, when two American correspondents made their way into the mountains and reported that there were no men from either Moscow or Mars with the guerrillas, the Greek army and the Greek political police have taken care that there shouldn't be any "other side of the story."

Last July 14, papers across the United States flashed big headlines about an invasion of Greece by an international brigade. The report later turned out to be a complete phony, cleverly planted by the Athens authorities, but, so far as is known, only the Denver *Post* protested to the wire services for handling the story as an authenticated fact.

Along the same line, it is interesting to note that the New York *Times* has sent A. C. Sedgwick back to Greece. Sedgwick is perhaps the most openly reactionary correspondent the *Times* has employed since Mr. Carney smeared the Loyalists from Franco's side during the Spanish civil war. It wasn't a coincidence, either, that the British in Greece, in January, 1945, chose Mrs. Sedgwick, a Greek by birth who comes from a banking family of very conservative political views, to act as interpreter and guide for the Citrine mission.

Last spring, the European Sunday editor of the *Times,* Raymond Daniell, stopped off in Greece for a brief visit. Readers were suddenly presented with calm, sensible, well-founded dispatches from Athens. If this startled constant readers it also disturbed the Olympic serenity of the *Times* front office. Sedgwick was finally pulled out of Greece—he declined reassignment to another post—and was told that he would be sent back whenever Greece "ceased to be a controversial news spot." Dana Adams Schmidt, who succeeded Sedgwick after Daniell left, did an honest, capable job. Now Sedgwick is back in Athens. Can it be that Greece, under the Truman Doctrine, has ceased to be controversial? Or what?

Plots and Counterplots

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TO UNDERSTAND what is going on in Palestine one should review one's "Alice Through the Looking Glass" and follow it with a refresher course in *Realpolitik.* Perhaps then the sinister fantasy would begin to make sense.

Here, in short space, are a few of the ingredients on which the imagination must work. First, the British. In the General Assembly, the British said they alone would keep order in Palestine until they laid down the mandate. No U. N. forces. No U. N. Commission or overlapping authority. . . . Today, Palestine is a shambles. Order has dissolved into communal fighting all over the country. Troops have crossed the border from Syria. The Arab rebellion against partition is well armed, backed by several of the Arab states, directed by the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. The British intervene here and there, primarily to protect their own property and troops, but they make no pretense of putting down the rebellion. When a correspondent asked, the other day, what was being done to relieve the Jewish community beseiged in the Old City in Jerusalem, a British official replied blandly: "What can be done? The Arabs are holding all the gates." No other nation seems to have inquired what 80,000 or more British troops are doing while terrorists rule Palestine. No one bothers to point out that the British police, to which the chief responsibility for "keeping order" has been assigned, is made up mostly of Arabs, who openly turn over their arms to their fellow Arabs.

The High Commissioner, Sir Alan G. Cunningham, it is true, "protested" to the Syrian government when the Lebanese-Syrian troops invaded northern Palestine. But Syria sits as a member of the Security Council which any

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day now will be called upon to decide how to end the rebellion. And the Arab states, Syria included, buy arms freely in all the markets of a world overflowing with surplus munitions. And the Mufti's Arab Higher Committee, which is directly responsible for the whole armed attack on the authority of the United Nations, is invited by the newly organized U. N. Palestine Commission to speak for the Arabs of Palestine in the partition proceedings. The fact that the Higher Committee has contemptuously declined does not diminish the oddity of continuing to try to cooperate officially with people who, if the occasion presented itself, would undoubtedly take pleasure in assassinating the commission, man by man.

But these are not all the ingredients of the Palestine dream-world. There is the great TNT mystery, now being ferreted out by the FBI. Already, the man-in-the-subway must believe, as he reads the headlines, that certain Jewish Fu-Manchus are carrying on an evil and criminal conspiracy to smuggle high explosives to Palestine. The sinister atmosphere surrounding the plot has been only slightly lightened by the revelation that other consignments of explosives, discovered in an Asbury Park warehouse and on a remote Jersey farm, were presumably purchased legally and when discovered were being held pending government release for shipment to Palestine.

Without question, if either transaction is illegal, the government has a right to take whatever action the law requires. But has it any decent, unpolitical reason for allowing the incident to be treated as a major scandal, reflecting on the honor of the Zionist movement? While Arab munitions pour into Palestine across every border, the Jewish Agency is prohibited from the legal purchase of arms for the defense of the Jewish people. Yet under the U. N. decision, each community was to create a militia to maintain order in its own territory, and in the debate the arming of Haganah was discussed as an urgent and early necessity. Would any self-reliant people, blocked from buying arms legally because its status as a nation had not been officially established, refrain from getting weapons where and how it could? If the Jewish Agency has stayed within the letter of the law, as it firmly claims to have done, its restraint is astounding. If it, or any Zionist group, has connived at arms smuggling, the misdeed should be looked upon by the American authorities as an excusable, if illegal, act of self-defense.

DOES the United States government want the Palestine decision to be enforced? Its lukewarm support of partition in the Assembly raised many doubts. Its easy-going attitude during the bloody days which have followed has raised still more. Technically, it is committed to the limit. But who can say what effect growing Arab resistance may have had, especially when considered along with the worsening situation in Greece? The dispatch to the Mediterranean of Marines with full battle equipment may signify a possible change of policy toward Palestine. Who can say how much attention has been paid to British charges that the Jewish refugee ships from Bulgaria carried Communist agents prepared to undermine Western control in the Middle East?

This much is certain. The United States can still make or ruin partition: We can insist in the Security Council that Syria be dealt with as an aggressor. (No border watch is needed to verify that invasion.) We can insist that a U. N. force be sent to Palestine immediately to restore order and specifically to protect the commission and enforce its directives. We can urge that the commission, under proper guaranties, also proceed to Palestine without delay to begin implementation of the U. N. decision. We can insist that as long as the mandate remains in effect, whether or not a U. N. force is sent, the British shall use all their available armed strength to end the Arab rebellion and protect the commission from attacks. It no longer needs to be proved, I should think, that when the United States firmly demands action, it can get it.

But this is far from our whole duty. Having made clear a position which has become increasingly foggy, we must take on the direct responsibilities our support of the U. N. decision entails. If it is necessary to blame the British for failing, perhaps wilfully, to maintain order in Palestine, it is insufferable to do so unless we are ready to back in the Security Council whatever sort of U. N. police force may seem most practicable. We have made no secret of our objection to a big-power force, which would bring Soviet troops into the Middle East. On the other hand, it is a question whether the disinterested smaller powers will want to assume the risks and burdens of policing Palestine without big-power help. One suggestion likely to come before the Council is that a mixed force be sent, made up of contingents from the Big Five —or Four, if Britain declines to join—and from several middle-sized states such as Canada, Brazil, and Mexico. Advocates of this plan argue that the inclusion of the great powers will so enhance the prestige of the force that mere token contingents from each will be enough to dissuade the Arabs from their resistance. But if the United States rejects a mixed force including the Russians, and if the small powers refuse to act by themselves, what alternative remains? Would this country then be prepared to police Palestine alone or share control with the British? Neither proposal would, I imagine, be acceptable to Moscow, nor would it have any intrinsic merit beyond satisfying America's desire to keep out the Russians.

The test of the government's good faith will come when the Security Council takes up the issue of a U. N. force. Meanwhile, it will be instructive to watch the unfolding of the TNT mystery: the dénouement of that plot will reveal a great deal about the American attitude toward Palestine.

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POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Can the G. O. P. Hold the Senate?

IF IT were not for the Gideonites, I would say that the Democrats stood an excellent chance of recapturing the Senate in November no matter who won the Presidency. Indeed, on paper it is hard to see how they can miss this prize unless we are in for a Republican tidal wave, of which not even B. Carroll Reece can detect so much as an advance ripple. The present tally in the Senate is fifty-one Republicans to forty-five Democrats, which means that a shift of three seats would create a tie, the decisive vote going to the Vice-President. A shift of four seats would give the Democrats control regardless of the Vice-President, with all that this implies in the vital chairmanships of committees as well as voting strength on the floor. Until Henry Wallace decided to heed the call of "thousands" to "engage in this great fight," the gain of these three or four seats was all but inevitable, and in spite of the third-party complication Democratic leaders still have reason to hope that the Senate, at least, will be theirs when the new Congress convenes next January.

The calculations are impressive. Of the thirty-two Senatorial seats involved in the coming elections, fourteen are now held by Democrats, eighteen by Republicans. Ten of the Democrats' fourteen are safely Southern, and party leaders need give them no thought, in spite of the visiting lady who professed to find the South more liquid than solid. Of the remaining four, there is only the slightest doubt about New Mexico, where Carl Hatch is all but assured of reelection, and Rhode Island, where Theodore F. Green is securely intrenched. Colorado is a little more dubious, particularly if Ed Johnson decides he has had enough of the Senate, in which case Governor Knous will be given the Democratic nomination and somewhat less favorable odds.

The only Democratic seat that can be said to look wobbly is that of Senator Murray of Montana, one of the most consistent New Dealers in the upper chamber. Ordinarily he would be a good bet, but apart from the trend that sent a Montana Republican to the Senate in 1946, Murray faces a tough underground opposition inspired by the relentless Burton K. Wheeler. Politically finished himself, Wheeler squeezes a grudge dry, and he rightly assigns to Murray a major role in the refusal of Montana's Democrats to nominate him two years ago.

Against these two doubtful Democratic seats, the Republicans must defend eighteen seats, of which not more than six can be considered anything like impregnable. Privately, Democratic leaders are willing to concede them those now held by Capper of Kansas, Bushfield of South Dakota, Cordon of Oregon, and White of Maine, and probably Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Bridges of New Hampshire. But that is where reasonable assurance ends. Needing only three to tie, the Democrats already are all but certain of capturing two. After last November's sweep in Kentucky there seems no reason to doubt that they will take over the seat narrowly won by John S. Cooper in 1946. And in Oklahoma, where the incumbent Republican is not even making the race, the odds overwhelmingly favor former Democratic Governor Kerr, a proved vote-getter.

This leaves the Democrats with the necessity of winning only one of the twelve remaining Republican seats to tie and two to win, with an additional seat required in case they should lose Montana. Leslie Biffle, secretary-treasurer of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, talks of all twelve with professional hopefulness. Wherry of Nebraska and Dworshak of Idaho are vulnerable, he says, because of their willingness to slash government funds for reclamation. Michigan offers possibilities for the Democrats if Prentiss Brown agrees to run, but Biffle concedes that "Ferguson will be a hard man to beat." And even normally Republican Iowa, whose farmers like the Marshall Plan, is conceivable for the Democrats if Guy Gillette can be induced to run for them. Delaware is always close, Revercomb is thought to be vulnerable in West Virginia, and there is a fair opportunity in Wyoming, where Lester C. Hunt, who presumably will be the Democratic nominee, won the governorship in 1946 in the face of a Republican sweep.

Even discounting Mr. Biffle's professional optimism, one may easily believe that this batch of states will yield at least the single seat necessary to tie, but even better Democratic hunting is to be looked for in three other states where Republican Senators are up for reelection. Minnesota's Senator Ball, who would have gone much farther than the Taft-Hartley act, has not only earned the lasting enmity of labor in that state but is looked upon with considerable coolness by former Governor Stassen, the man who sent him to the Senate. The Democratic-Farmer-Labor coalition would seem to have a good chance if it gets behind Hubert Humphrey, the spellbinding mayor of Minneapolis and vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Humphrey set some sort of precedent last fall by rousing the A. F. of L. convention to a clamorous demand that he make the race against Ball.

In Illinois the Democrats have already named what Senator Lucas calls a "dream ticket"—Paul Douglas for the Senate and Adlai Stevenson for governor. Both men are New Dealers, both are ardent supporters of the Marshall Plan, and both are strongly anti-Communist, two-thirds of which makes them anathema to the Wallace party. And New Jersey, which bounces back and

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forth between the two major parties, can probably be made to yield a Democratic Senator if Boss Hague is sold on a nominee acceptable to labor—and if the Wallace party does not draw too heavy a vote. Should the Democratic nomination go to Frank Kingdon, who went AWOL from Gideon's army with this in mind, he would of course be given the boot by the state's equivalent of P. C. A. While this would be understandable enough in the case of New Jersey, the Wallace shadow falls just as darkly across Democratic candidates in Illinois, Minnesota, and many another state. And while one can hardly expect the third-party people to plump for the apostate Kingdon, it will not be easy to overlook their sending a Ball to the Senate instead of a Humphrey, or a "Curly" Brooks in place of a Paul Douglas—especially if this makes the difference between a Marshall Plan Congress and a return to the fatal isolationism of the twenties.

Fear in Our Laboratories

BY LEONARD ENGEL

FOR eighteen months press and radio have echoed to the hysterical pursuit of government employees, union leaders, spokesmen for liberalism, writers, Hollywood figures, and plain citizens as suspected Communists. This persecution, as senseless as it is illegal, has also extended to scientists, in and out of the government, to the further subversion of the First Amendment to the Constitution and with irreparable harm to the nation.

I have before me the cases of eight scientists—six men and two women. All were fired from or denied jobs on "security grounds," as the phrase goes. In no instance was a hearing held or a specific charge made. Without exception the victims received the most arbitrary treatment: one, a distinguished biologist, was abruptly awakened by a soldier at 6:30 A.M. and given twenty-four hours to leave the army post where he was employed.

In the spring of 1946 this man (since I have no wish to increase any scientist's personal difficulties I am withholding all names), the possessor of an outstanding record at the famous war-time radar laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, turned down four university offers and accepted a post as a section chief at a leading army research station. He was influenced by the prospect of working in a field in which he was intensely interested and by the salary, which by academic standards was high; he was to be married in a few months, and the matter of salary was important. Three months after going to work for the army and three days before his wedding he was summarily ordered off the post. No explanation was given him then or later—he spent fruitless weeks in Washington trying to discover what was behind his dismissal—other than that the post's security officer considered him "unsuitable" for contact with secret material. He was not even remotely connected with the Communist Party. What he was vulnerable to was the strange charge which can be brought against most humanitarians of the last two decades at this late date—guilt by association. He belonged to the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, made occasional contributions to C. I. O.–P. A. C. and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and subscribed to the *Soviet Information Bulletin*, a quite innocuous Soviet-embassy publication which sometimes prints reports of Soviet scientific activities not easily obtained elsewhere. Because of the stigma of his abrupt dismissal, it took him thirteen months to get another job.

My second and third cases are a husband and wife, both physicists, who about a year ago left the General Electric Company to join the staff of a new Atomic Energy Commission laboratory. The husband had to wait for the completion of a major item of equipment before he could take up his duties, but his wife, a theoretical physicist, went to work immediately. When pay day came, however, she was told that her check had not been made out, since security clearance had been withheld for both herself and her husband. No specific charge was made; they were simply instructed to await an appeal by the laboratory authorities and in the meantime not to inform anyone of their predicament. They complied to the point of staying for eight months in literally complete isolation in a house they had bought near the laboratory—proof positive to my mind that they were not leftist politicians. Word of their situation finally reached the Federation of American Scientists, which won their clearance by bringing pressure to bear on the members of the Atomic Energy Commission. The cause of the delay was that the husband had been sympathetic to the United Electrical Workers during the 1946 strike against General Electric and naive enough to be quite frank about it. Furthermore, a dozen years before he had been a college friend of Dr. Israel Halpern, an acquitted defendant in the Canadian spy trials.

A slim Texas-born blonde who had become a capable mechanical engineer is the fourth case. In May, 1946, she was hired by a respected educational institution to work on an army-financed research project—in particular, to make a survey of the voluminous technical literature in the field. One day in May, 1947, she was sum-

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moned to the office of the institution's research director and informed that she was being let go at the request of the local army security officer; the institution had tried to transfer her to non-secret work but had found none suited to her abilities. Needless to say, she was informed of no specific charge and given no hearing—to this day she has no idea why she was let out—and in violation of an explicit agreement officials of the institution voluntarily revealed her alleged ineligibility for secret work to prospective employers who were not working on government contracts and did not need such information. As a result, she had much more than the usual difficulty of women engineers in finding a job.

The persons in the other four cases were employed by private concerns—one of the nation's largest radio manufacturers, a leading radio laboratory, and General Electric. The radio factory and radio laboratory discharged three design engineers, all local vice-presidents of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, when army security officers barred them from access to classified material. As usual there were no hearings or specific charges. Moreover, neither employer considered transferring the engineers to non-secret assignments until forced to do so by the union. Both the manufacturer and the laboratory finally agreed to transfers, but the laboratory broke the agreement and fired its engineer two weeks later. This man's discharge notice was accompanied by a copy of the army letter barring him from secret material. The letter contained a reference to a secret army document, circulated to industry, which describes procedures for eliminating "unreliable" individuals from army-financed projects.

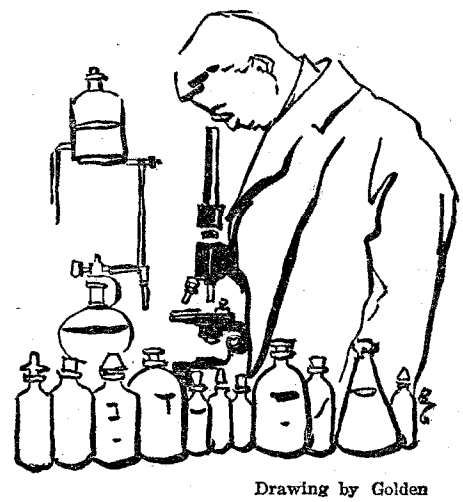
The General Electric employee was a young Philadelphia physicist who had been appointed to the staff of G. E.'s new atomic-power laboratory. He was denied FBI clearance, though the only political activity in his record was participation in an interracial amity campaign—in which a number of Communists also took part—in Philadelphia following the shameful anti-Negro strike of Philadelphia street-car motormen a few years back. The physicist suggested to G. E. that he be placed in one of the company's many non-secret laboratories, but the company refused. Later Professor Hugh Wolfe, chairman of the Association of New York Scientists, asked Harry M. Winne, executive vice-president of G. E., for an explanation. Mr. Winne replied that it was company policy not to hire anyone for any technical position who could not get clearance for atomic research; the company wished to be free to shift any employee to the atomic laboratories.

THIS finishes my file of cases. I do not pretend to have given a complete account of events in the scientific sector of the civil-liberties front; I am sure that other scientists of whom I have not heard have been the victims of outrages. Nor can my brief résumé fully recapture the impact on an individual of arbitrary dismissal as a suspected subversive—the sudden destruction of a useful, ordered existence, the hope at first that some kind of easily rectifiable mistake has been made, the heart-breaking failure of efforts to find out why, the search for another job with the brand of suspected disloyalty on one's brow.

These eight cases, however, make clear certain essential facts. Hostility to trade unions was indisputably a factor in three of the cases. It is well known that industry views unions of scientists, engineers, and white-collar workers with especial horror. And in its war against them it has an invaluable ally in the narrow-minded echelons of army and navy intelligence and the FBI, to whom any white-collar worker who wants to join a union—like a common laborer—is a red.

Even more important, a new and repugnant principle is being laid down. When the security drive began, it was largely against employees of government agencies. Now it has been extended to take in not only workers on government contracts but people engaged in the purely private operations of firms with government contracts. Yet there is nothing whatever in American law entitling an employer to probe into the thoughts and lives of employees on non-government work or to grant or deny jobs on the basis of what is found. It is a wholly illegal practice.

This principle is particularly pernicious because it may in time be applied, if it has not been already, to the selection of university graduate students, who are tomorrow's scientists. Universities now depend for research funds largely on the army and navy, which require clearance of personnel on some university projects. Most university administrations, besides being extremely conservative, are fearful of losing this support. Consequently, they will tend to exclude graduate students who might jeopardize their relations with the army and navy. The effect of such a winnowing of students is bound to be the ultimate decapitation of American science. For the best scientists are the boldest scientists, and bold men, particularly young men, are not likely to be bold by halves: if they are the kind to challenge the universe, they will also challenge social absurdities like Jim Crow. It is precisely such men to whom fearful university administrators will deny the opportunity to take graduate work in science.



Drawing by Golden

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The current hysteria is also interfering with scientific research in more immediate ways. For one thing, the dismissal of scientists has disrupted valuable research projects in midstream. Further, at the time the biologist was expelled from the army research station several outstanding men at the Woods Hole Biological Laboratory were considering offers from the army laboratory. When they learned of their colleague's experience, to a man they tore up their government employment blanks. Other government agencies have been similarly repulsed by the men they sought, and today literally hundreds of key federal research posts are vacant. Scientists are loath to work for the government in any case on account of the secrecy policies of many federal agencies. When they are also asked to expose themselves to the arbitrary judgment of ignorant, politically bigoted security agents, they stay away from government laboratories in droves.

It is the nation as a whole that pays for the invasion of the laboratory by political bigotry. Research undone means lives unsaved and discoveries unmade.

Russia's New Ruble

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 24

TWO outstanding events marked the end of 1947—the breakdown of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers and the great monetary and economic reform instituted by the Soviet government. The latter is not merely an internal matter. In the Russian view an immense impression will be produced abroad by the fact that less than two and a half years after the end of hostilities the Soviet Union—first among the belligerent countries—has put its financial house in order by sweeping away all the monetary mess caused by the war and scrapping rationing.

There is obvious competition between the "Socialist world" and the "capitalist world" to be the first to reach the goal of post-war prosperity; and while Britain, France, Italy, and other Western countries are in the throes of economic, financial, food, and labor difficulties, Russia adopts the slogan "Life will now be easier, life will now be jollier," just as it did in the era of relative prosperity which it attained around 1935.

Distribution difficulties of course remain. The number of state shops is not as large as it might be. It is expected, however, that after a little supply and demand will adjust themselves, and that the prices in the cooperative shops and in the peasant markets will more and more approach the lower level of the state shops. The Stalin-Zhdanov decree does not exclude the possibility of a further reduction in the prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods, and it may be assumed that consumption will be maintained at least at the present level, for it is emphasized that "this is the last sacrifice."

Undoubtedly one of the main purposes of the dual reform—the simultaneous application of both measures is considered by the Russians to be a particularly brilliant piece of planning—is to favor the productive worker and thus stimulate accomplishment of the "Five-year Plan in Four Years." With such immensely important items as bread and cereals even cheaper than they have been recently under the rationing system and with sugar to be bought at fifteen rubles a kilogram, the worker's table will be better supplied. Since money will be scarcer than it was, though not in the case of bona fide wages, there is no danger of unrestricted buying in shops; when there is any sign of such buying for speculative or hoarding purposes, the shops themselves will discourage it.

The first flush of free buying is expected soon to abate. An interesting feature of post-reform Moscow is the so-called second-category restaurants, where, in distinction to Intourist restaurants, which are mostly frequented by foreigners, the cost of meals has come down in spectacular fashion. Here a well-cooked three-course meal costs only fifteen or twenty rubles, less than half what it used to be. Vodka, however, is still as dear as before—sixty rubles a half-liter bottle.

THE productive worker is clearly better off under the new system, though sacrifices have been required of him, too. Virtually every wage-earner is a bondholder, and government bonds were converted at the rate of three to five old rubles for one new (with the exception of the 1947 loan, of which only the first instalment has been paid for). The justification for the devaluation is that most of the bonds were bought during the war with already depreciated rubles. It is significant that the least advantageous conversion terms—five to one—were allowed to the 1938 bonds, the only negotiable Russian bonds and thus a great favorite with the "speculators." Some individuals have suffered hardships, but those worst hit are the rural and urban speculators who preferred not to disclose their currency holdings by putting them in the savings banks. Also, the Russian version of the proverbial "woolen stocking" often grew abnormally fat as a result of the tenfold or fifteen-fold increase in market prices

ALEXANDER WERTH is the Moscow correspondent of The Nation *and the Manchester* Guardian.

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to which the preamble of the Stalin-Zhdanov decree refers.

This preamble mentions the great increase in currency circulation necessitated by war-time expenditures. In addition, the volume of paper money was increased in incalculable amounts by forged Russian notes issued by the Germans in the occupied areas. It is also suspected that some persons with diplomatic privileges were tempted to bring into Russia dirt-cheap black-market rubles from Poland, Germany, Hungary, and other places. This may be one reason why the ten-to-one conversion of currency has been applied to the diplomatic corps as a whole. But that is a complicated story.

The new ruble is declared to be full value, sound, solid, and respectable; the preamble to the Stalin-Zhdanov decree naturally draws comparisons between the Soviet way of doing things and post-war currency reform in capitalist countries, where the burden of the reform falls, it says, on the wage-earners and not on the capitalists or the "spivs." There is, of course, virtually no such thing as a rentier class in Russia, and if the citizen as bondholder has been hit, the same citizen as producer has been encouraged. In countries where some citizens are all-producer and others all-rentier the problem is naturally more difficult.

IN A country of Russia's natural resources the abolition of rationing in the urban area is indisputably an easier task than it would be in Britain, which so largely depends on imports, but that it could be done so soon, relatively, after the war is in large part attributable to the immense and successful Soviet efforts to put agriculture and industry in order. It is significant that Mr. Kaganovich, who was sent to the Ukraine last year to take the problem of agricultural reconstruction in hand, should now have been appointed Deputy Premier in Moscow, his job in the Ukraine having been successfully completed.

To stimulate production of both foodstuffs and manufactured goods by increasing prosperity inside the Soviet Union is clearly one of the principal objects of the reform, and it is obvious that Russia has no intention of becoming a large food exporter, whatever the inducement. When it seems necessary, as in the recent case of Czechoslovakia, Russia will send food abroad—though not in quantities that would appreciably affect its internal standard of consumption.

Malenkov in a recent speech said that one of the hindrances to post-war reconstruction was the limited amount of machinery that could be imported, the international situation being what it is. An increase in such imports, as the present Anglo-Soviet talks show, would be welcomed. But apparently they are not a matter of life and death: we know, for instance, that the great Zaporozhe steel mills were restored exclusively with Russian-made machinery.

Payment Deferred

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

SHOTS rang out on Grove Street near New York's waterfront one morning a year ago, and Andrew Hintz, hiring foreman at Hudson River Pier 51, crumpled in his hallway. But the three gunmen botched the job, and Hintz took three weeks to die. For most of that time he refused to squeal. Finally, just before he died, he put the finger on his slayers—John "Cock-eye" Dunn, Andrew Sheridan, and Daniel Gentile. Two weeks ago a New York jury found all three guilty of murder, basing its verdict chiefly on Hintz's dying statements. The killers will undoubtedly go to the chair, the first time such justice has been arrived at in the whole homicidal history of the New York waterfront—where there have been a score of similar slayings since the war.

So "King" Joe Ryan, president of the American Federation of Labor's International Longshoremen's Association, and his henchmen are no longer invulnerable. The I. L. A. has lost its ability to "fix" a murder for its "boys." It is high time. The tie-up between Ryan, the shipping interests, politicians, the underworld, and the Christian Front was first revealed in these pages two years ago.* Dunn's career as an I. L. A. thug was described, as was the web of "protection" which—at that time—was powerful enough to stain with suspicion of cowardice the offices of the district attorneys of Brooklyn and New York. One of those D. A.'s is now Mayor of New York and apparently determined to wipe out the stain. His prosecutors, George Monaghan and William Keating, deserve much credit for penetrating the iron curtain of the waterfront, where "nobody gives any information to a cop," and obtaining the conviction of Hintz's murderers.

Hintz was shot, the prosecution contended, because he refused to play ball with the union. He had control of the daily employment "shape-up" at Pier 51 and refused to allow the higher-ups to obtain their traditional cut from the men he hired. The practice had been a bone of contention often before: in 1941 Dunn had almost murdered Edward Kelly, Hintz's predecessor at Pier 51, but had got off virtually scot free when two I. L. A. vice-presidents came to his aid. These convictions, then, are deferred payment for Kelly's beating, and for countless other outrages committed by the I. L. A. goon squads.

Ryan's little empire may now be tottering. The rank and file of his union has long been dreaming of revolt, and Ryan himself can no longer deliver his labor at bargain rates. I. L. A. butcher boys can no longer be saved from the chair. And today other unions connected with servicing the Port of New York are strong enough to make a bid for the 40,000 longshoremen.

* See The Scandal of the Waterfront and Joe Ryan and His Kingdom, by Maurice Rosenblatt in *The Nation*, November 17 and 24, 1945.

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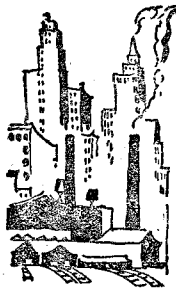

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Fiscal Politics

THE Republicans' real grouch against the President's tax plan, which they are denouncing as "purely political," is that it offers them competition in a field they would like to monopolize. Ever since their Congressional victory in November, 1946, they have been exploiting the political appeal of the tax reductions with a fine disregard for the economic consequences. The G. O. P. bill which was vetoed last summer cleverly combined high percentage cuts for the lower brackets with large actual reductions for the income groups which must be relied upon to finance the election campaign. The revised Knutson bill, introduced last month, offers slightly better terms to the little fellows but not at the expense of the big. Naturally, the total cost is higher—$5.6 billion against $4 billion.

Mr. Truman's counter-offer is cheaper for the Treasury, much easier to understand, and has more allure for more voters. Every taxpayer can immediately figure out just what the rebate of $40 for himself and each of his dependents means. The plan wipes from nine to ten million persons off the income-tax rolls, while the Knutson bill would excuse only some seven and a half million.

One of the principles of our income tax is that it leaves untouched the income needed to maintain a low basic standard of living. This amount was fixed in 1944 at $500; for it to have the same real value at today's prices, it would have to be raised at least to $650. The Knutson bill lifts exemptions only to $600, while the Truman proposal is roughly the equivalent of an increase, for lower-bracket incomes, to $700.

Undoubtedly, the President's scheme does more to ease the lot of those worst pinched by the rising cost of living than the rival measure. But today any tax-reduction plan must be tested against the paramount necessity of checking inflation as well as weighed in the balance of social justice. Some Republicans have tortured logic to prove that lower taxes will prove anti-inflationary, but the fact is that the Knutson bill would pump some $5.6 billion of purchasing power into circulation. And by reducing the Treasury surplus it would cripple efforts to curb credit inflation by paying off government debt.

The President's tax-revision plan is far more responsible. He recognizes that "one of the most powerful anti-inflationary factors in our economy today is the excess of government revenues over expenditure," and he aims, therefore, to balance the loss of revenue from a reduction in personal income taxes by an increase in corporation taxes.

This is a proposal which many people will view sympathetically. Last year business profits soared to new heights, and as the President says, corporations can well afford to carry a larger share of the tax load. The difficulty is to make them do so. Suppose General Motors estimates that an increase in the corporation-profits tax will cost it $100 for each car produced. What is to prevent it, under present circumstances, from adding that amount to prices? In every line of business where demand exceeds supply—and that includes oil, steel, paper, railroad equipment, farm machinery, fertilizer, and numerous other products as well as automobiles—increased taxes are almost certain to be passed on to the ultimate consumer. Price increases of such key commodities would start a chain reaction.

Consequently, however appealing the policy of "soaking the corporations" may be in theory, it has certain very practical limitations at the present time. It could prove effective if Congress gave the Administration power to reinstate price controls, but there is every indication that the President's renewed request for such authority will be ignored. A possibility worth exploring, however, is the combination of a steep excess-profits tax with a system of rebates payable to corporations which cut prices. Thus a concern which reduced prices by say 5 per cent might be relieved of 25 per cent of its excess-profits tax, while a 10 per cent cut might be rewarded by a 50 per cent rebate.

Unfortunately there is little reason to suppose that Congress will attempt to amend the President's proposal along these lines. Corporations will not be touched, as the Stock Exchange recognized by refusing to take the tax project seriously, and Republican legislators will compete with Mr. Truman only in the field of tax reductions for individuals. If they try to match his offer to the lower brackets while maintaining the bounty offered by Knutson to the higher, the Treasury surplus would probably be wiped out altogether. That is one danger inherent in the President's plan, but a bill on such lines would certainly be vetoed, and even in an election year it is probable the veto would be sustained. A more likely outcome is a compromise which will split the difference between the two. That may seem good politics, but by swelling the volume of dollars chasing goods and reducing debt-cutting possibilities it must feed the inflationary fires.

In an election year economy is usually as unpopular as tax cutting is popular. The President in his State of the Union message referred to many desirable measures for the protection and development of our human and natural resources. Study of the speech makes it clear that he was discussing long-range objectives, but the breadth and haziness of his aspirations laid him open to attack. Without waiting for the budget message providing details of the Administration's actual proposals for expenditure next year, Senator Taft built an effective though unfair radio speech around an estimate of the total increase in taxes necessary were Mr. Truman's whole program to be legislated immediately.

Let us hope that the senior Senator from Ohio will show as much economizing zeal in restraining the expected election-year generosity of his own followers. For in general it may be said that in view of the current strain on our productive resources all expenditures that can be safely postponed should be. This is a good time to lay aside plans for public works that are not urgently needed. On the other hand, we must beware of a penny-wise, pound-foolish policy. At a time when we need all the food we can raise and when some industries are threatened with curtailment for lack of power, it would be false economy to cut down on soil conservation or to delay completion of new hydroelectric works.

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Last of the Brain-Trusters

BY ROBERT H. ESTABROOK

Washington, January 9

WHEN President Truman announced abruptly, on December 30, that he would not reappoint James M. Landis as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, he severed the Administration's last important link with the original New Deal. Landis had served in top posts in and out of the government for nearly fifteen years after he was first summoned to Washington to help write one of the New Deal's major initial reforms, the Securities Act of 1933.

It is not the fact of Landis's departure so much as the way in which it was accomplished that makes it significant. President Truman gave no public explanation of his action, no word of thanks. He was as cursory as a city council firing an inefficient dogcatcher. Yet both he and President Roosevelt had reposed high trust in James M. Landis. Before Landis was appointed to the C. A. B. in May, 1946, he had been a member of the Federal Trade Commission, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, and American Minister to the Near East. In interim years he had been dean of the Harvard Law School. As recently as last June he was awarded the Medal for Merit—given to those distinguished by "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services to the United States"—for his direction of the Office of Civilian Defense during the war. Even his detractors do not deny that he is a man of exceptional ability and integrity who has devoted himself to the public service with a fiery energy.

Landis's successor on the C. A. B., nominated by the President with equal abruptness, is to be the forty-two-year-old Major General Laurence S. Kuter, present American delegate to the International Civil Aviation Organization. Kuter has a brilliant military record and is known as one of the air force's best strategists. There was an almost audible sigh of relief over his selection, especially since rumors about the President's choice had run the gamut from Stanton Griffis, ambassador to Poland and New York investment banker, to Lieutenant Colonel Henry Myers, until this week Mr. Truman's personal pilot. Yet the appointment of an active military man to a civilian job only increases the enigma of the President's earlier action.

Several times President Truman has complained of the inability of the government to hold competent men in top jobs. Why, then, did he choose to give Landis what a high aviation authority termed "a running kick in the pants"? Was it pressure from Secretary of Commerce Harriman, who wants to end the Civil Aeronautics Board's independent status and reconstitute it within the Department of Commerce? Was it the enmity of certain large airlines, out to get Landis? Was it dissatisfaction over the C. A. B.'s failure to render prompt decisions, or the disgruntlement of other C. A. B. members? Was it opposition in Congress?

Persons close to the White House insist that the explanation is not so complex. President Truman, they say, is little subject to outside pressures and is given to simple solutions and compromises. He is known to have remarked to a friend that Landis could not "get along with people." That, they assert, is the real reason Landis was fired; the President withheld any public explanation in order to protect Landis.

Landis's personality undoubtedly had a bearing on what happened. For all his other qualifications, he is no diplomat. He has a razor-keen mind, and he is impatient with others who cannot follow his thought processes. It was this seeming arrogance that earned him the sobriquet of "cocksure Landis" when he first came to Washington. His manner is still that of a law-school dean. His language is sometimes pedantic. This was never better illustrated than in a memorandum last summer in which he criticized subordinates for complicated and obscure phraseology in C. A. B. orders. "To do this," he said, "reminds one of Rube Goldberg's cartoons and evokes in the reader the *same risible response*" (my italics).

On little points he has sometimes been obtuse. There was some resentment among other board members over Landis's tendency to put forth his own opinions as those of the board, Clarence Young, who recently resigned from the C. A. B., is said to have complained bitterly to President Truman about Landis's dictatorial procedure. Yet Landis's personal idiosyncrasies and views were not new. To accept the simple explanation that he could not get along with people as chairman of the C. A. B. is to overlook the fact that many of these same people had private axes to grind. It is no secret that the President's action caused great glee among many of the airlines and in their trade organization, the Air Transport Association. And while it may be superficially true that the President was insulated from direct pressure, there are many means of exerting indirect influence.

One such means could have been Secretary Harriman. Because of his hostility to the C. A. B. he was the logical

ROBERT H. ESTABROOK is on the staff of the Washington Post.

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channel for such overtures. Secretary Harriman told the President's Air Policy Commission last October that the Commerce Department should have the major responsibility for developing a sound economic pattern for the airlines. He criticized the inadequacy of the C. A. B.'s rate-making structure and suggested that these functions be incorporated in his department. The theory that Mr. Harriman may have had more than an incidental role in Landis's ouster gains weight from a reported conversation of several airline heads in a recent closed meeting of the Air Transport Association. "We're out to get Landis," they are alleged to have stated, "and Harriman is the man to do it."

IT MUST of course be realized that not all executives of all airlines opposed Landis. The antipathy of the airlines in general had several basic causes. The most immediate was the matter of air safety. Landis has been critical of what he regarded as insufficient safety efforts by the airlines themselves. The report of the President's Air Safety Board, of which he served as chairman, emphasized strongly the individual responsibility of airlines for promoting safety in operations. Landis was accused by one aviation publication of doctoring the safety report to reflect virtually all of the "political, economic, and social thinking" of David L. Behncke, president of the Air Line Pilots' Association.

The airline reaction can be seen in the dissenting opinion of Milton W. Arnold, vice-president of the Air Transport Association, who charged that recommendations concerning aviation economic problems were "presented to the board under a 'cloak of safety'." When he learned of the probable content of the safety report, the president of one of the "big four" airlines is said to have remarked: "It's either Landis's blood or our money!" Another executive was quoted as saying, "Landis's ideas on safety would cost us more than we could get back in mail pay."

The second cause of airline opposition is connected with the problem of the new non-certificated freight carriers, most of them staffed by former G. I.'s. Landis has been sympathetic to their efforts to enter the field and was instrumental in having the C. A. B. grant them temporary operating privileges. This was criticized as a violation of the Civil Aeronautics Act by some of the old-line carriers. But when a rate war developed between the scheduled airlines and the non-certificated operators, the C. A. B., with Landis assenting, called for a complete investigation of air freight rates in a decision which recognized the problem of the old-line companies and was by no means partial to the independents.

Another source of friction has been the question of certification of new routes. This is a very complicated procedure which cannot be detailed here. However, some airlines have objected to what they termed arbitrary awards by Landis. In one instance allocation of a new route was revoked the night before the company was to start operation, on the ground that additional evidence had been presented.

Two chronic differences arise from Landis's views on the function of mail pay and on proposed mergers. Landis has taken the position that mail pay, which in the case of the weaker airlines is an outright subsidy, was not intended by Congress as a perpetual cushion for inefficient operators. He has thought of the C. A. B. as a sort of economic watchdog. On several occasions he has been bitterly critical of airline management. That of course has not enhanced his popularity with the airlines concerned.

James M. Landis

In the matter of mergers also he has had an eye both on the economies and the service that would ensue. While generally sympathetic to mergers, he has been wary of inflated valuations. When the C. A. B. decided recently to allow United Air Lines to purchase an important route from Western Air Lines, Landis wrote a dissent criticizing the purchase price as too high.

Finally, Landis has been an outspoken foe of "chosen-instrument" legislation to merge all overseas air routes in one corporation. This has been energetically promoted by Pan American Airways and its Congressional spokesman, Senator Owen Brewster. On this issue most of the airlines have agreed with Landis, and at present the "chosen instrument" looks like a dead duck. However, Pan American is not an easy loser, and its influence cannot be discounted.

IN THE last analysis, the difference between Landis and his enemies is one of philosophy. When he joined the brain trust, the gaunt, ascetic-looking Landis was described as "bright as hell but a fanatic visionary." As dean of the Harvard Law School he put emphasis on public service and the importance of training young lawyers for careers in the government. He favored President Roosevelt's proposal to "pack" the Supreme Court, and he was generally looked upon as sympathetic to labor.

The same concept of public service that he stressed at Harvard is evident in Landis's views on aviation regula-

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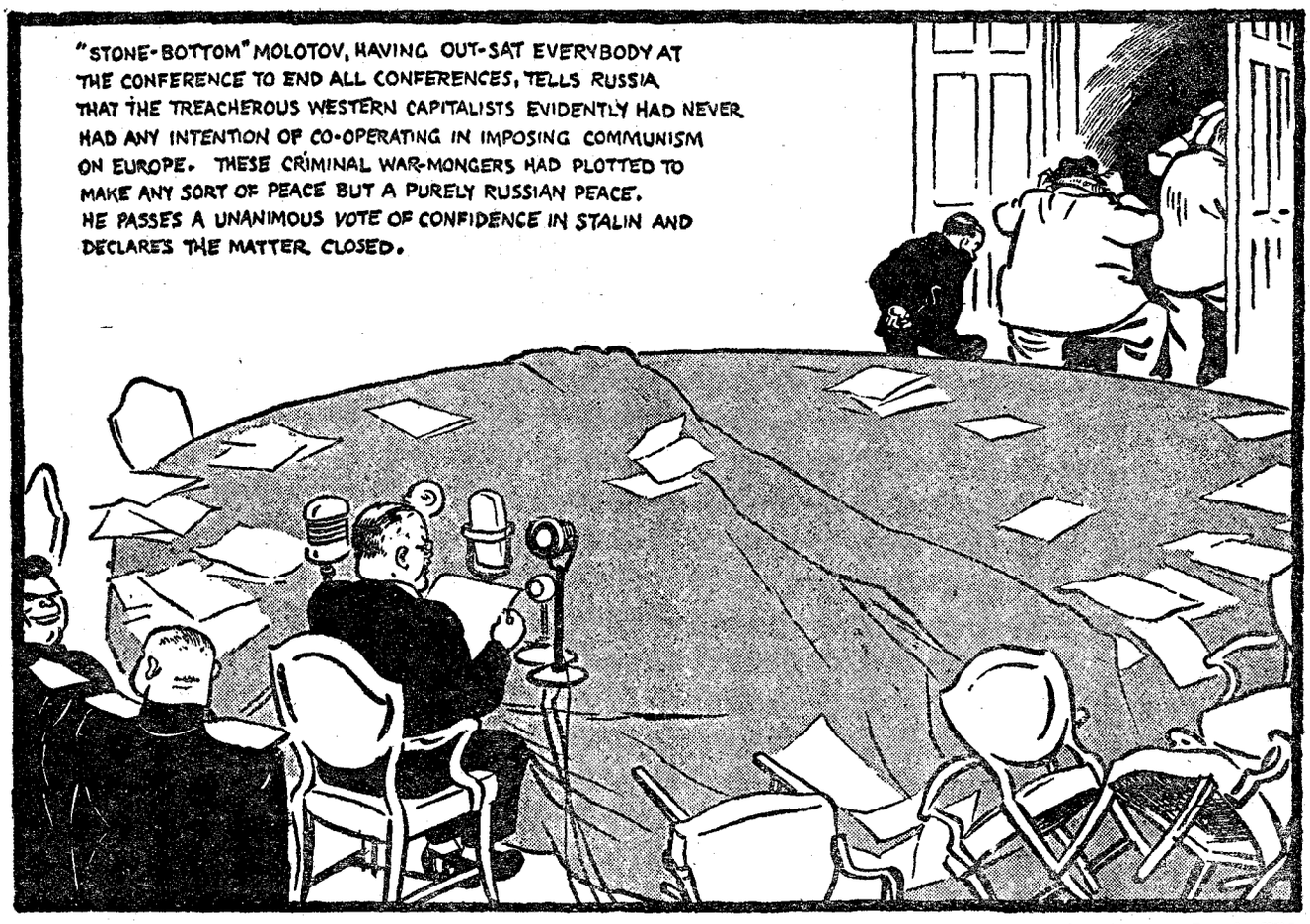
tion. He does not regard the "certificates of convenience and public necessity" granted air carriers as sacrosanct; he feels that these licenses should be continually rejustified in the public interest. Aviation, he believes, is served by occasional infusions of new blood. He has been criticized for a doctrinaire attitude toward competition; it is said that he sometimes promotes competition for competition's sake.

Withal, Landis has consistently applied the principles of business management. Here there is an interesting contrast between the insistence by Landis, the New Deal visionary, that airline management must be sound, and the contention of some companies that their internal affairs are none of the C. A. B.'s business. Landis holds that mail pay is not a permanent "right" and that it should be based on service rather than financial need. This has led some airlines to accuse him of departing from the spirit of the Civil Aeronautics Act to make his own rules.

Despite the hostility which some of his decisions have engendered, Landis has not been unfriendly to the airlines. He showed a thorough grasp of their post-war expansion difficulties in the analysis he presented to the President's Air Policy Commission. He is a firm believer in the "fifth freedom" of the air as expressed in multilateral international pacts, and he won many of the airlines over to this conviction at the meeting of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal in 1946.

WHATEVER the reasons for Landis's ouster, the effects of it are clear. It leaves a vacuum on the Civil Aeronautics Board, a vacuum which General Kuter, with only a military background and no acquaintance with the niceties of rate adjustment and route determination, can hardly be expected to fill. Congressional legislation to revamp the C. A. B. may mitigate the effects of the loss, but meanwhile the public interest has no strong champion on the board and the threat of domination by one faction of aviation is increased.

From the standpoint of the airlines, the first effect may seem beneficial. Landis will no longer be prodding them about safety. The reception accorded General Kuter's appointment has been warm, a fact which invites the suspicion that certain of the airlines hope to use the new chairman as a tool. But if the removal of Landis paves the way for destruction of the independent Civil Aeronautics Board, the airlines may turn out to be the real losers. If a separate Department of Transportation should be established now, the airlines would almost certainly be outweighed by older segments of the transportation industry—the railroads in particular.


"STONE-BOTTOM" MOLOTOV, HAVING OUT-SAT EVERYBODY AT THE CONFERENCE TO END ALL CONFERENCES, TELLS RUSSIA THAT THE TREACHEROUS WESTERN CAPITALISTS EVIDENTLY HAD NEVER HAD ANY INTENTION OF CO-OPERATING IN IMPOSING COMMUNISM ON EUROPE. THESE CRIMINAL WAR-MONGERS HAD PLOTTED TO MAKE ANY SORT OF PEACE BUT A PURELY RUSSIAN PEACE. HE PASSES A UNANIMOUS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN STALIN AND DECLARES THE MATTER CLOSED.

London *Express*—Canada Wide

OLD LOW'S ALMANAC—PROPHECIES FOR 1948

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Revolution in North Carolina

BY ROBERT H. MORRISON

THE South is not so solid these days. In North Carolina, a little over a year ago, Negroes voted in the state capitol in Raleigh for the first time since Reconstruction. True, it was in a mock Assembly, to which they were student delegates—an annual project of North Carolina college students—but the event was important as a step toward the solution, by Southerners, of the South's most serious problem.

Two years ago, in December, 1945, the Ninth Annual North Carolina Student Legislative Assembly was held in the capitol. Various unexciting resolutions were passed —in favor of peace, increased state appropriations for higher education, improved penal conditions, and so on. An anti-Jim Crow bill was approved by both houses after a mild fight. No one was too disturbed; after all, the student group had no power to change Jim Crow laws. Confusion broke loose, however, when Ralph Glenn, president of the International Relations Club at Chapel Hill (now a junior executive in the International Bank), moved that delegates from Negro colleges be admitted to the 1946 assembly. Dozens of students shouted for the floor. Discussion became so heated that the chairman postponed the question until the following day.

During the interim hours lobbying reached fever pitch. Representatives from Chapel Hill and from the Woman's College at Greensboro supported the Glenn resolution; those from State College and Wake Forest College were determined to defeat it. The smaller colleges joined one or the other of the two camps. When the assembly reconvened, Al Lowenstein, a Chapel Hill student from New York, spoke for the admission of Negroes. "What's your name?" someone shouted—for many Southerners anyone whose name ends in "stein" is a New York Jew who is in the South for ulterior motives. Douglass Hunt of Rocky Mount pleaded for honesty toward the Negro. James Wallace of Jamesville spoke of the practical benefits of better race relations. The University of North Carolina contingent produced many able speakers. The opposition heckled them ineffectually.

When at last a vote was ordered, the session became quiet for the first time since Glenn had offered his resolution. Breaths were held as the vote was announced: the liberals had won, 110 to 48.

The anti-Negro group, determined to renew the fight, sent out a hurry call for Thad Eure, North Carolina's secretary of state, who came upstairs from his office to urge the assembly to repeal its action. Eure said its decision to admit Negroes would retard good relations between the races in the South. When he had finished, several liberal leaders pointed out fallacies in his reasoning. Then Frances Privette, a little blonde co-ed from Chapel Hill, moved that the assembly thank Mr. Eure and adjourn until next year. The motion was carried.

THE newspapers of the state set up a terrific howl. The Greensboro *Daily News* said in an editorial:

> This regurgitation of unassimilated mental pabulum is a recurrent feature of campus life. If it is a trifle more messy just now than aforetime, it should be remembered that the youngsters' elders at the national capital are not without responsibility for the trend.

Lynn Nisbet, columnist for several state papers, wrote:

> The movement was led by out-of-state students. . . . Policy of majority of officialdom is similar to that adopted by university authorities a few weeks ago when the Dialectic Literary Society at Chapel Hill raised the issue of admitting Negro students on the basis of equality at the state university. In both instances it was non-resident students, unfamiliar with conditions hereabouts, who sponsored the resolution.

Southerners like Nisbet have learned that they can effectively smear anything they don't like by calling it Yankee or "out-of-state." The Dialectic Society at Chapel Hill actually contained only two students from outside the state. The composition of the student legislative assembly was overwhelmingly North Carolinian.

Eure publicly urged the University of North Carolina to "look into the conduct of its delegation," which he felt was dominated by Northerners. Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of North Carolina's three consolidated universities, who for fifteen years has been building the liberal spirit in Chapel Hill, answered Eure calmly:

> We always have, and I trust, as a simple part of the traditions of our people, always will stand for the decent and responsible freedom of students as well as other people to express their conscientious opinions, vote their honest convictions, and take positions on public issues, including controversial, unpopular views.

In December, 1946, the Tenth Annual Assembly met in Raleigh, and Negro delegates were in attendance. On no issue did the voting split along racial lines. Negro publications filled the galleries with reporters, but the

ROBERT MORRISON was editor of the North Carolina Daily Tar Heel *in 1945-46 and president of the Ninth and Tenth Student Legislative Assemblies. He is now teaching at the University of Illinois.*

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white papers carried only accounts prepared by wire services. The assembly made news, but the burning editorials of the previous year were absent. The governor did not entertain the delegates at his mansion, as he had done in previous years, and Wake Forest sent no delegates.

THE old guard did not give up. Late last fall the council of State College students which has charge of assembly arrangements between sessions announced that it had dissolved both itself and the assembly. Ira Helms, president of the council, admitted to reporters that the reason was the admission of colored delegates.

Helms said he thought a New York organization had been behind the original Glenn resolution. The Raleigh Times reported, "There have been hints that the organization blew up because . . . New Yorkers were attempting to pull strings." Although it was completely untrue, the charge of Yankee interference was the hardest kind of attack to parry. Southern liberals can explain everything to their followers except the wisdom of accepting an idea which may have "come from New York."

Then the *Times* tried to laugh off the entire matter:

> The North Carolina Students' Legislative Council [*sic*] has dissolved . . . and who cares? Out of the total number of students entering colleges, only 44 per cent manage to graduate. This percentage ought to increase. It can increase if college students spend more time on their regular studies and leave legislative and other irrelevant matters to their elders.

This produced an explosion in Chapel Hill. Barron Mills, editor of the university's *Daily Tar Heel*, wrote an angry reply entitled "Who Cares? Several Thousand!" Tom Eller, president of the student body, demanded an investigation of State College's action. Hunt and Glenn, now graduated, urged North Carolina students to override the dissolution. The Debate Council of the university made plans to sponsor the assembly with or without the help of State College. Leaders at the Woman's College in Greensboro assured the Chapel Hill group of full support. Wake Forest was entirely out of the picture. Many smaller colleges seemed willing to aid the effort to revitalize the assembly. Finally, State College students, realizing that the assembly would meet anyway, reorganized their council and voted to hold the eleventh session under State College sponsorship.

Eure then ruled that the assembly could not use the capitol for its meeting unless a new permit was received from the Board of Buildings and Grounds. This shifted the responsibility to the board and to Governor R. Gregg Cherry. On November 18 the Governor called a meeting of the board, which granted the permit.

The eleventh assembly has now been planned for February. It will be bi-racial—the only institution of its kind south of the Potomac—and thus will represent a great victory for the forces of human dignity in the South.

Ruckus Over Rents

BY W. P. G. CHAPIN

Rutland, Vermont

THE antagonism between landlords and tenants—kept down so far by law—was demonstrated recently in this typically overcrowded city of 17,000 at a heated public hearing on rent control. The tenants won.

The city has had rent control since November 1, 1946. Last June it lost 300 houses in a flood, and low-priced rental units are so scarce that two families are living right now in army tents, with the thermometer often below zero. The necessity of controls would seem obvious. Nevertheless, on November 18 a petition asking for decontrol, signed by 113 landlords, was presented to the Rent Advisory Board. The board announced a hearing to listen to testimony from tenants and landlords.

The ringleaders of the decontrol movement showed up at the meeting with long, carefully prepared speeches designed to convince the board that abolition of controls would stimulate a housing boom, that it would put on the market housing units which landlords were withholding because they could not get high enough rents to cover expenses, and, in general, that the war was over and we ought to return to "the American system." After they had spoken, a Miss Helen A. Miner presented to the board a list of "sixty-six addresses" where, the landlords claimed, vacant housing units could be found. The list was intended to satisfy the requirements of a clause in the Rent and Housing Act stating that local boards can recommend decontrol if enough new housing has been constructed to prevent unreasonable rent demands. The list turned out to be the landlords' undoing.

Two veterans invited Miss Miner to accompany them on a tour of the city to confirm the existence of these available units. Somewhat flustered, Miss Miner declined the invitation, saying the veterans could check the list without her assistance. They did check it. The following morning they visited forty-seven of the sixty-six addresses, and found a grand total of two apartments actually vacant and ready for occupancy. Most of the apartments were either occupied or undergoing repair and already promised to tenants. Some of the so-called "housing units" were fantastic: one was an ancient, boarded-up mansion, another a flood-damaged house that looked as if a hand-grenade had been tossed through a front window; two of the addresses were vacant lots.

A detailed statement of the veterans' investigation was given to the chairman of the Rent Advisory Board and published in the local newspaper. The Advisory Board met briefly on December 15 and voted to keep controls. What was most gratifying to the pro-rent-control people was the fact that the landlords supplied the rope used to hang them. All the tenants had to do was tie the noose.

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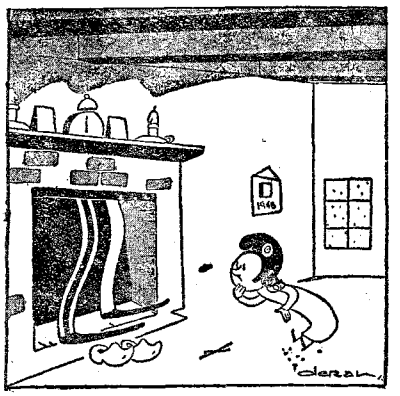
Del Vayo—If De Gaulle Comes to Power

Paris, January 6

AT THE last Socialist conference Léon Blum called Gaullism the "most immediate" danger facing France; after talking with men of various political views I am somewhat inclined to discount the immediacy of the danger. At present we are witnessing a race between the Third Force, discussed on this page last week, and De Gaulle's R. P. F. movement.

FATHER CHRISTMAS



"Just a minute! I don't believe in that one."

The centrist bloc in Parliament is not a majority—some 300 deputies in all out of 618—and its trump card, the *plan Mayer*, has emerged from debate considerably watered down by concessions to deputies of the Daladier stripe whose main backing at election time comes from wealthy farmers. None the less, Schuman seems to think that he can hold the Assembly in line, if only by a narrow margin of twenty votes or so, until the start of the next wage struggle, predicted for late February or March. Thus six weeks or two months remain in which to jockey for place; and the R. P. F. is aware that unless it plays a shrewd game it is likely to muff its golden opportunity. In order to hide their anxiety the Gaullist propagandists are adopting a strident, aggressive tone which appears superficially to confirm Blum's prognosis. But a close examination indicates that for the moment the Gaullists are losing ground.

The reason for this is that part of the General's program is actually being carried through by the Schuman government, particularly the offensive against the Communists. I have heard leading politicians say that the United States approves De Gaulle's program but would prefer to see it put across by men less rigid in their thinking than the First Resistant. State Department advisers have not quite forgotten the incidents at Algiers. To be sure, contact between De Gaulle's entourage and those who shape American foreign policy is more cordial than during the war—but there is a vast difference between the General and his entourage. In the first place, none of his supporters—neither Capitant, nor Pleven, nor Malraux—can claim to have a decisive influence on De Gaulle—not one of them. Consequently he represents an unknown, and probably dangerous, quantity in the eyes of the Americans; they are more kindly disposed toward the docile Schuman, who fits the Marshall Plan like a glove and will try to do what Washington wants—check the Communists without precipitating civil war.

In my opinion it is the fear of civil war that explains the marked ebb of De Gaulle's popularity in recent weeks. To deflate the ardor of many Frenchmen for the R. P. F. the opposition need only choose the strategic moment to launch the slogan *"De Gaulle, c'est la guerre!* First civil war, then war abroad." The average citizen with a relatively good memory will immediately recall the war in Spain and the changes which have since occurred in the relative strength of the various powers. When the Spanish war began, the Soviet Union was in no position to risk a break with England and France by openly defying the policy of non-intervention. Today it can choose its own road; if Moscow felt that once in power De Gaulle would proceed to destroy Russia's friends in France, it might well say, "No! Finished!" and accept the consequences. Thus, "De Gaulle, c'est la guerre" is no mere tactical bluff.

For all these reasons I maintain that the Gaullist danger is not just around the corner, as Blum feared. However, for the sake of argument, let us assume that he is right. In that case, precisely in that case, his theory of the Third Force loses all logic. If De Gaulle should decide to seize power—not by a coup d'état (which he would never attempt) but rather by making the existence of the Schuman government impossible and forcing new elections—could Blum seriously hope to block him when the working class has been divided by the split in the C. G. T. and a powerful left party like the Communists has been barred from participation in the fight?

De Gaulle's only chance of a comeback lies in intensifying the divisions among the French people. The one issue on which he could have rallied the entire nation has lost some of its earlier appeal. Until a few months ago De Gaulle and the majority of the French saw eye to eye on Germany. That is probably still true today: in France there is still a widespread hope that one day the big powers will reach an understanding, or that something else may turn up to protect France against its traditional enemy across the Rhine. But the unwilling concessions French diplomacy has made in the last eight months in order to establish a place for France in the Western bloc have had a depressing effect. The French are becoming resigned to the idea that American and British errors vis-à-vis Germany are almost inevitable, and today De Gaulle would find it difficult to stir violent feeling on the German issue.

Even his admirers do not pretend that De Gaulle is equipped to cope with the present economic crisis. Nothing could have better demonstrated his inadequacy than his speech at St. Etienne, where he told an assemblage made up largely of workers, first, that "a regime of parties is incompatible with real government," and, second, that the economic recovery of France required a new system of "association" among all producers—workers and employers together—to take the place of the present trade-union movement. Representatives of the new industrial associations would be "incorporated into the state," taking their place in a Council of the Republic along with the representatives of local assemblies. One need not imagine the reaction of organized labor, in all its sections, to this Gaullist version of the Mussolini formula; trade unionists and the left and

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centrist press have already united in condemning the General's call for a French corporate state.

To have a decent social program France must divert a part of the money now spent on the army. This devastated country has allocated a larger percentage of its budget to the military than it did in 1929, when it was the leading power in Europe. Last July Schuman, then Minister of Finance, swore that the army would get 180 billion francs and "not a sou more"; in the budget just voted this figure was boosted to 244 billion! De Gaulle would be the last man in the world to order a cut in that department.

But we don't have to speculate on what would happen if De Gaulle came back. The Communists make no secret of the fact that they would fight to the last man to prevent him from taking power. In that event I cannot imagine a more infernal dilemma than that which would face the Socialists of the Third Force: they would be obliged either to side with De Gaulle in an all-out struggle against the Communists or be completely isolated—neutral in a situation where neutrality is impossible.

Foreign Comments on Wallace

HE [Henry Wallace] may at most tip the scales against Mr. Truman and put a Republican in. Why does this prospect appeal to him? He has an old grievance against the President, first for supplanting him in the Vice-Presidency, then for dropping him from the Cabinet. On more serious ground, he rightly saw and criticized the shortcomings of the "Truman Doctrine," and he has not given Mr. Truman credit since for the broader outlook of the Marshall Plan. Both his personal feelings and his objections in principle have been assiduously nursed by supporters who have given him a keen sense of his own importance. (Is Ramsay MacDonald's a comparable case?) . . . Mr. Wallace says that there is "no real fight between a Truman and a Republican." In his preoccupation with the Marshall Plan "as applied" he must have lost touch with Washington.—The *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 1.

There will be very few today who do not see that his third party is eighteen months too late, and that it can achieve nothing positive at the polls. . . . By declaring his candidacy in the shadow of the Chicago *Tribune* Wallace has put himself on the wrong side of the fence, along with Senator Taft and other isolationists. As a result, the third party will not even pretend to be the beginnings of the labor party for which so many have looked so long on the United States horizon; it will be only a guerrilla movement on Mr. Truman's flank, which, if successful, will elect the most reactionary candidate the Republicans can find.—The *New Statesman and Nation* (London), January 3.

Can Mr. Henry Wallace stir up a large current of opinion and rally to his standard all the liberal elements? It is doubtful. . . . Labor leaders and Mrs. Roosevelt herself have not hidden their opposition, which is aroused as much by the idea of a third party as by the foreign policy of this man who claims to carry on the spirit of Roosevelt. His hostile declaration on the Marshall Plan will cost him other followers. Only the Communist elements approve his move. . . . The language of Mr. Wallace brings peculiarly to mind that of Mr. Chamberlain in 1938. One knows the price one must pay for abandoning principles and positions. To guarantee peace requires more than men of good-will like Mr. Wallace. Also necessary are men with cool heads, strong nerves, and a political sense too often missing in this new "crisis of the peace."—*Le Monde* (Paris), December 31.

In the Wind

WHAT are you doing?" asked the Candle. "Compiling," the Wind replied, "a list of People to Admire in 1948." "Read it!" commanded the Candle. So the Wind read his list:

DANNY PAYNE, a nineteen-year-old leader of a gang in Atlanta, Georgia, which wrecked about twenty-five cars there during the holidays by releasing the brakes of those parked on hills. When arrested, Payne said, "I'm supposed to be one of the outstanding boy scouts in the country."

ED SULLIVAN, a columnist for the New York *Daily News*, who has been in Miami lately and has this to say about blood, sweat, and grapefruits: "New Yorkers, sunning themselves in Florida when the blizzard buried Manhattan, know how guilty Britishers felt who missed the London blitz."

REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS L. OWEN (R., Ill.) who, if *PM* quoted him correctly recently, has this prognostication to make: "If labor leaders and union men in convention voted to join in asking Congress to repeal the [Taft-Hartley] act, Congress would do so."

VIVIEN KELLEMS, a Westport, Connecticut, industrialist, who favors "an outright repeal" of the Sixteenth (income tax) Amendment to the Constitution.

CHARLES VENTURA, society columnist for the New York *World-Telegram*, who writes as follows: "It's perfectly obvious that Mona (Mrs. Harrison) Williams doesn't expect to journey to New Orleans, Chicago, and Dallas this winter. She recently gave Charlie James permission to reproduce part of her wardrobe for the street-car trade in those cities."

MONA (MRS. HARRISON) WILLIAMS.

DAVID A. A. OLSON, of Washington, D. C., who has entered a complaint for an injunction in a United States District Court to restrain Harry S. Truman, the Congress of the United States, and John Wesley Snyder from giving, allocating, or loaning (under the Marshall Plan) "a great portion of the public (the tax-payers') funds" to "certain foreign nations, many of which . . . can never repay a loan."

THE U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE officials in Bangkok, Siam, who have banned *The Nation* and the *New Republic* from their library shelves there.

DR. JOHN S. HERRON, an educator of Newark, N. J.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item printed.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

TIME, SPACE, and NEWS

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

IN *PM's* hectic infancy Bill McCleery, then Sunday editor and probably the ablest craftsman on the paper, once remarked: "We talk the best newspaper in America." The observation came at the end of one of the regular Friday night sessions at Ralph Ingersoll's home, where the editors and department heads gathered to discuss why the new journalistic baby—long a gleam in every newspaperman's eye—had turned out to be a sickly, dull, and unpopular child.

The malady was elusive. Harold Ross was reported to have offered the diagnosis that *PM* was being produced by "young fogies." McCleery's analysis still makes the most sense. He argued that the daily newspaper, whether conservative or crusading, top-dog or under-dog, is inherently a hasty, fragmentary medium which primarily justifies its existence by the speedy publication of news. Ed Lahey was saying the same thing when he lamented that yesterday's newspaper wraps tomorrow's fish. All of which is a less elegant way of conceding that the newspaper is a first draft —but only a rough first draft—of history. Ingersoll sought to impose the tone and tempo of a weekly on the feverish structure of the daily. Eminently successful as a magazine editor, he was baffled by the discovery that stories published under the lash of newspaper deadlines lack the nuances of pieces prepared after consultation with researchers and decent intervals of window-gazing. At one point he became so disturbed by the gap between blueprint and reality that he told the staff it did not matter when the news was printed as long as it was more ably presented than in rival journals. The idea was short-lived; it was reluctantly agreed that our readers could not achieve an equivalent apathy toward the concept of time.

These recollections are suggested by the "blueprint for a better press" prepared by last year's Nieman class at Harvard ("Your Newspaper," by Nine Nieman Fellows, 1945-46, edited by Leon Svirsky, Macmillan, $2.75). The Nieman fellows are a selected group of journalists who get a year's sabbatical from newspapers and magazines to meditate in the congenial cloisters of Cambridge. They wrote the book as a by-product of their seminars on the state of the American press. They have said a good deal that is worth saying. But the sum of their remarks is disappointing. It is likely to enhance rather than diminish the smugness of most American publishers. It will be justly pointed out that Ingersoll offered substantially the same critique of the press in his eloquent inner-office memoranda of 1940-41. The Niemanites have strangely failed to explore *PM's* failure to fulfil his dream or to indicate why—despite his appeals for reason, wit, and compassion—the paper that came off the presses so frequently resembled a leftist edition of the Chicago *Tribune;* or why it has increasingly reverted to standard newspaper type in its technical operations.

Virtually ignoring the implications of that experiment, the authors are finally compelled to describe their projected paper as a combination of the peculiar merits of long-established dailies. "An ideal newspaper," they conclude, "might perhaps combine the snap and readability of the New York *Daily News,* the pictorial excellence of *Life,* the thoroughness of the *Times,* the human interest and intelligence of the *Herald Tribune,* and the sense of responsibility of the *Courier-Journal.*" One might similarly end a book on the strategy of baseball by announcing that a team built around Ty Cobb, Tris Speaker, Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Lefty Grove, Eddy Collins, Frank Baker, Christy Mathewson, Roger Bresnahan, and Lou Boudreau, in their respective primes, could not be beaten. But why write the book?

The prime fallacy in this and many comparable indictments of the American press is the failure to differentiate three separate problems. The first is the identification of most members of the publishing fraternity with conservative financial groups and the concentration of newspaper power in the hands of a few press lords. The second is the pace of newspaper production, which gives the daily its sense of excitement and its unique reason for being. The third is the complex business of determining—under the most auspicious circumstances of benevolent financing, such as Marshall Field offered *PM*—the appropriate line between the editorial page and the news columns, without either reducing the news to a recital of dry, unadorned fact or making the paper a battleground for the prejudices of frequently inept partisans.

With respect to the first point the authors sensibly reject the vulgar thesis that advertisers shape the stereotypes by which many newspapers live. They duly note that the publishers themselves have become full-fledged members of the dominant economic group; big business literally owns most of the press. That isn't news. Groping for a way out of this impasse, the Niemanites look hopefully to labor unions as a source of subsidy for independent newspapers. They do not cast even a mildly critical eye at the monstrous perversions of news now appearing in most labor newspapers, nor do they even momentarily evaluate the risks of such subsidy for presumably independent journals. On this as on many other matters a review of *PM's* history would have been illuminating. *PM* didn't seek direct financial gifts from unions, but it sought —occasionally obtained—their support in circulation ventures. Even without any direct financial underwriting from unions *PM* found itself the target of pressures as formidable as any advertiser ever tried to exert. Labor leaders welcomed the paper into their union halls

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when it was promoting their own projects and clamored for its extinction when it raised a whisper of doubt about their virtue.

But even assuming the existence of disinterested angels—in addition to Mr. Field—the problems of time and technique remain far more formidable than the Niemanites acknowledge. Although they concede that the requirements of speed are a frequent harassment, they proceed to lament the presence of rewrite men on newspaper staffs, contending that it is the reporter who catches the truest flavor of the event he is covering. Unfortunately, a reporter who has just investigated a crime of passion at one end of a subway line can render little service if he arrives at his typewriter just after the edition has gone to bed. Similarly, "Your Newspaper" deplores the dead hand of uniformity imposed by the wire services; yet the authors propose that nearly all breaking news in Washington and abroad be handled by the services, with staff writers producing more leisurely interpretation once the event is cold. The writers decry the hackneyed prose form used in most newspaper stories, and surely a good deal of journalese is duller than necessary. They echo the early Ingersoll idea that the "narrative style" should be employed wherever possible, with the climax usually reserved for the last paragraph. But the composing-room has little respect for the O. Henry technique. When stories are too long they are characteristically cut from the bottom, which happens to be the swiftest remedy. On *PM*, during the narrative era, it soon developed that the climaxes were being monotonously killed. Although this multiplied the mystery of some *PM* stories, it did not increase the clarity of the paper.

The traditional newspaper "lead"—who, what, when, where, how—is grimly repetitious. It offers scant literary variety. But it is geared to the operation of daily journalism. It provides some assurance that the reader will get the major facts of the crime even if a formative episode in the killer's childhood is omitted. The authors visualize their dream daily as a morning paper, less buffeted by the sudden fluctuations of news than afternoon papers. But even morning papers are subject to deadlines that cannot be delayed for final literary flourishes or scholarly contemplation. The more violent time terrors of afternoon papers are virtually ignored.

It is in its challenge to the biases of the conservative press, however, that this book is least persuasive—not because the basis for such a challenge is non-existent but because the writers have selected such narrow and esoteric ground. They cite some flagrant and indisputable instances of the manner in which publisher prejudice infiltrates the news columns. They also pick at least two case histories that are highly dubious; and their choice of the items inadvertently reveals the toughness of the problem.

Thus they are bitterly critical of press treatment of Russian news, and they pick the *Times* as a major object of abuse. Their method of criticism is extraordinary. They declare that on a single day, not disclosed in this volume, the *Times* published fifteen stories on Russia—not one of which is quoted—and that "only three could be considered sympathetic or even reasonably objective toward the Russians." The other twelve, they assert, were "hostile, full of sneers, jibes, and viewing with alarm." Since they have not presented the exhibits, the reader is at a slight disadvantage. The crucial question is whether the authors are objecting to slanted or "interpretative" dispatches on Russia or whether they simply want to

THE MINUTE

The office building treads the marble dark,
The mother-clock with wide and golden dial
Suffers and glows. Now is the hour of birth
Of the tremulous egg. Now is the time of correction.
O midnight, zero of eternity,
Soon on a million bureaus of the city
Will lie the new-born minute.

The new-born minute on the bureau lies,
Scratching the glass with infant kick, cutting
With diamond cry the crystal and expanse
Of timelessness. This pretty tick of death
Etches its name upon the air. I turn
Titanically in distant sleep, expelling
From my lungs the bitter gas of life.

The loathsome minute grows in length and strength,
Bending its spring to forge an iron hour
That rusts from link to link, the last one bright,
The late one dead. Between the shining works
Range the clean angels, studying that tick
Like a strange dirt, but will not pick it up
Nor move it gingerly out of harm's way.

An angel is stabbed and is carried aloft howling,
For devils have gathered on a ruby jewel
Like red mites on a berry; others arrive
To tend the points with oil and smooth the heat.
See how their vicious faces, lit with sweat,
Worship the train of wheels; see how they pull
The tape-worm Time from nothing into thing.

I with my distant heart lie wide awake
Smiling at that Swiss-perfect engine room
Driven by tiny evils. Knowing no harm
Even of gongs that loom and move in towers,
And hands as high as iron masts, I sleep,
At which sad sign the angels in a flock
Rise and sweep past me, spinning threads of fear.

KARL SHAPIRO

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substitute a more cheerful set of preconceptions. Although they briefly disclaim any partisanship, the passage clearly suggests that they share Edgar Snow's view of United States–Russian conflict rather than, say, Louis Fischer's. Whether Snow or Fischer is right is not at issue here. The point is that the authors are obviously not advocating that all Russian dispatches be purged of value judgments. Admittedly there are some irresponsible survivors of the Riga headline-hunting class of the 1920's; but the Russians have been far more intemperate in their denunciations of sober fellows like Brooks Atkinson. Should the *Times* have killed Atkinson's reports?

No less vulnerable is a cryptic and inadequate discussion of labor reporting in which the writers deplore the tendency of labor journalists to identify themselves with a "faction" in the Automobile Workers' Union:

> At the press table representatives of some of the responsible segments of the press behaved more like Reuther campaign managers than accredited correspondents. Reuther's supporters built their campaign on a slogan that "Tommy loves the Commies" and that Reuther would cleanse the union of its Communists. Thomas, though not a Communist, was supported by the Communists in the union. At least half a dozen reporters from the regular press joined forces with representatives of the partisan right-wing Socialist press in cornering delegates and trying to convince them that a Thomas victory was a Communist victory. One reporter went so far as to wear a Reuther campaign button on his gaudy suspenders.

Shades of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association! It was not long ago that the publishers were charging that a newspaperman who belonged to the C. I. O. could not "objectively" report labor news. The authors themselves, in an earlier chapter, ridicule the fetish of detachment: "Newspapers have made a fetish of a spurious kind of 'objectivity' which pretends to be impartiality but produces only confusion. . . . The whole notion rests on a fallacy; it fails to take into account that the reader is in no position to decide which assertion or 'fact' to believe." The diatribe against the Reuther rooters is ambiguous and inconclusive. None of their dispatches are cited. I knew a lot of correspondents on the Dewey campaign train in 1944 who were personally planning to vote for Roosevelt. Some of them may have even attempted to seduce a wavering middle-of-the-roader in the club car. Such conduct may be unbecoming a gentleman of the press, but I should prefer to judge him by his copy rather than his suspenders. The passage illustrates the wilderness in which the authors are floundering. Do they object to the published identification of the Thomas candidacy with the Communists drive for power in the union? The *Daily Worker* never concealed the point. And surely this tirade would have been better balanced if the authors had ever confronted the problem of writers who wear no campaign buttons in public but carry Communist cards in their wallets. They literally write under orders that may be totally unrelated to the facts of life. What role should they play on a model daily?

These examples are not cited to allege any systematic political bias in this uneven book; they underline the inconsistencies in which the architects of a better press have bogged down. The Niemanites want by-line writers given the chance to roam freely in the realm of interpretation—with possible corrections of errors published as addenda by all-knowing editors. Despite their disquiet over the anti-Thomas emotions of the labor journalists, they believe a good newspaper story will "try to sketch in each important newsmaking individual's character, motives, and orientation." If I were a managing editor I would hesitate to give the Lord that assignment—especially if He were facing an early deadline.

Early in the book the authors protest the space accorded the saga of Langley Collyer. "The tremendous play given the Collyer piece of fluff kept important news off the front pages . . .," they complain. But later on we are assured that the ideal newspaper "will be as much fun to read as a good novel." The dismissal of the Collyer "fluff" reflects a kind of condescension that has plagued many noble journalistic enterprises. It is reflected perhaps most painfully in the afterthought of the Nieman fellows that their daily of the future "will even have comics." In Heywood Broun's phrase, nothing is too good for the proletariat.

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The Question of China

LAST CHANCE IN CHINA. By Freda Utley. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

IN "Last Chance in China" Freda Utley states on her second page, "It seemed to me that history was repeating itself. First Japan had been helped to conquer China. Now Soviet Russia, through her agents, the Chinese Communists, was being assisted by America to get into a position to acquire dominion over China." In the following fifteen chapters Miss Utley repeats herself, if not history, with a good deal of variety. But her themes hardly vary from these two—that Chinese communism takes its orders from Moscow, and that American liberals have been fatuously aiding its growth in China. With great sincerity and passion she exhorts us to reverse the moderate policy which has been followed since General Marshall's return from Nanking a year ago. On her next to last page Miss Utley says, "Our last chance to reform the Chinese government, reequip the Nationalist armies, support loyalist China against foreign-aided rebels seeking to bring the Chinese under Soviet hegemony, is at its best right now."

Between these two dogmatic assertions is a great deal more of the same, including a survey of great-power diplomacy during and since the war, an account of General Marshall's mediation and of Russia's rape of Manchuria, praise of General Wedemeyer and Ch'en Li-fu, cracks at most of the journalists and government officials, from Roosevelt down, who have had anything to do with China, apologia for the National government, and an analysis to show how the Chinese Communists have followed the Moscow party line. This subject matter is of importance, but Miss Utley treats it so entirely from a partisan point of view, bending history to her uses, that its impact is vitiated.

Her method may be illustrated by the following passage on page 359: "The United States abandoned lofty principle for compromise. In 1917, when Japan presented China with the Twenty-one Demands, which would have converted the whole republic into a vassal state, Secretary Lansing, while continuing to oppose 'in principle' special rights and privileges for any power in China, signed a document recognizing Japan's 'special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.'" As the reader may recall, the Twenty-one Demands were presented on January 18, 1915, not 1917; and Mr. Lansing signed the agreement quoted on November 2, 1917, almost two years later, after the United States had taken the lead in temporarily thwarting, not condoning, the sinister purpose of the Twenty-one Demands.

Nevertheless, there is a good deal that Miss Utley could tell us if it could only be disentangled from the Kuomintang propaganda material and evidently off-the-record statements of prominent persons with which she loads her story. She says that as a British Communist she first visited China in 1928, "bearing secret messages from the Comintern." Afterward she went on to Japan "with more secret messages." Subsequently she worked for six years in Moscow "in conjunction with the Comintern," studying Far Eastern economics and politics to "lay the theoretical foundations for policy decisions." In 1936, however, her husband "was carried off one night by the secret police to disappear without trial into one of Russia's concentration camps," and Miss Utley became bitterly disillusioned with Soviet Russia and communism.

Undoubtedly it is this element of personal tragedy which leads Miss Utley to see the "shades of the Russian prison house" behind the smiling faces of a "group of happy, clean, and clever, well-cared-for" Chinese Communist children in Yenan. She is unable to look at China without seeing Russian horrors coming around the corner. This gives her writing a Cassandra-like urgency and desperation which will no doubt get it quoted by politicians for their purposes.

Miss Utley's over-assertion of her themes leads to an oversimplified and in the end an over-happy view of our China problem. First of all, our danger there lies not merely in the Moscow-oriented anti-American slant of the Chinese Communists but also in the fact, which Miss Utley underplays, that they have used their Marxism to achieve ideological leadership of a genuine and far-reaching social revolution, a native Chinese movement which combines peasant rebellion with anti-foreign patriotism. We are up against something much tougher to deal with than the Red Army's influence in Eastern Europe, because it has to be dealt with on its merits as a Chinese creation in the Chinese scene.

This means, secondly, that merely military efforts to spread Miss Utley's Pax Americana over China's millions will not succeed. Neither will American attempts to "reform the Chinese government," as she advocates, from the outside. The strength to save themselves from communism can only be generated by the Chinese people themselves. We cannot do it for them. Nor can we use China effectively for our purposes against Russia, except as we ally ourselves with social change within China.

In attacking the theory that the Chinese Communists "are not real Communists," "Last Chance in China" beats a dead horse. Our problem is that the Chinese Communists are not only real Communists, they are also really Chinese, and they lead a real social revolution among the Chinese people.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Calling All Philistines

MONA LISA'S MUSTACHE: A DISSECTION OF MODERN ART. By T. H. Robsjohn-Gibbings. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

VERY obviously, this book was written to make money. The vulgarity of its learning and thinking, the misinformation it contains, and the violent and banal simple-mindedness with which it mauls its material to fit its thesis—all these disqualify it from serious discussion. But, as sometimes happens with very, very stupid people, its author does have hold of the truth by a hair on its tail, a hair that many infinitely more intelligent writers on modern art have not even brushed. Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings has discovered somehow that there was, indeed, something very wrong with surrealism, futurism, and Pre-Raphaelitism. But since he is

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out to attack all modern art, he must extend their fallacies, which he so crudely describes, to cubism, expressionism, and abstract art in general.

So far as art is concerned, the real mistake that Pre-Raphaelitism, surrealism, and futurism made in common is academicism: the attempt to take painting back beyond impressionism. (Futurism, for all its surface show of modernism, unwittingly approached art in academic terms; Marinetti, Severini, and Balla never got the point of what had happened since Courbet, and Carrà got it once or twice only by accident.) But Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings is not against academicism; what he charges these aesthetic movements with is having promoted occultism, mysticism, magic, and authoritarianism in opposition to democracy, the middle classes, and science. There is, as I have indicated, a twisted bit of half-truth in the first part of this accusation. In their sincere dissatisfaction with modern life Pre-Raphaelitism and surrealism did cultivate an obscurantism of opposition, while futurism, on the other hand, made of its very enthusiasm for the machine age a kind of obscurantism of approval. But where Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings should explain, he can only go on repetitiously about magic, dictatorship, and Madame Blavatsky, compromising his thesis with such a wealth of irrelevancies, clumsy distortions, and falsifications that the mind refuses to grant even the very small half-truth the book contains for fear of being infected by its total vulgarity.

Though Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings is astute enough to exempt the impressionists, Cézanne, and Matisse from his animadversions, it is obvious that he cannot tell the quality of one picture or piece of sculpture or school of art from another; for that matter, he attacks modern art not on the score of its quality but only because of the social and ideological tendencies he attributes to it. And toward the end of the book one realizes that the author is not even sincerely opposed to these tendencies, that his defense of the bourgeoisie and science is motivated mostly by a desire to be super-chic, by an archness that has little to do with the middle classes and nothing all to do with science. What we have here, in the final analysis, is treachery. To hear Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings argue that Picasso's art and surrealism must be sinister because they have been taken up by the *haut monde*, fashion, *Vogue*, and *Harper's Bazaar* is like seeing a baby bite the nipple it sucks.

The people who are bewildered by modern art have indeed become restive of late, and there is no question that they feel a real desire for some intellectually respectable justification of their bewilderment that would enable them to go over to the counter-attack. It is no longer enough to say "insanity." What's wanted is a weapon on a "high level." And it is the necessity of a "high level" that accounts for Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings's mumbo-jumbo. But the mumbo-jumbo defeats itself. The people whose need this book is designed to fill will either see through it or be bored by it. It is hard even for philistines to be insensible to such vulgarity.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

An Indiana Book

INDIANA: AN INTERPRETATION. By John Bartlow Martin. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

AMONG regional studies "Indiana: An Interpretation" is another temporal document, though its charm cannot be denied. It is journalism, tragicomic, glittering, various in presentation of characters highly individual or merely typical and of colorful scenes and episodes, both particular and symbolic—but it is still journalism, as the author frankly admits. Still, one cannot help thinking of richer, more permanent revelations of American culture, such as the poetic, brooding, rhapsodic yet factual "Arkansas," by John Gould Fletcher, an eye-opener to all dusty, myopic eyes which see only the typical in the American scene. They do this for no better reason than that the "type" is always the mind's imposition upon the individual, is always a confession of laziness of vision, is a shorthand omitting many features. Mr. Martin declares himself interested in the typical, but fortunately for this lively book he has a good eye for the unlegislated individual—and his book is weakened only in so far as, in the midst of multiplicity, he has ideologically wished to play upon a harp of one string. Whereas Indiana is a harp of more than a thousand strings.

Mr. Martin's book is none the less charming, as readable as if it were fiction, though not fiction integrating diverse cultural factors at a high level or bringing all riches under one dome. This is not to blame him for superficial method so much as to acknowledge the limitations which he himself acknowledges in his preface. He writes, he says, not with rhapsody but as a critic. By rhapsody, he may have meant something superficial, such as "Ain't God good to Indiana?"—and not the depth of Fletcher's writing, where every paragraph is an illumination upon past

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and present—and not the depth of, in an earlier era, Washington Irving or Mark Twain. So he chooses to be critical of the Hoosier type and of the Hoosier idea, but the criticism, too, seems of a superficial sort, in which easy assumptions are made as to "something wrong" in the Hoosier type and Hoosier idea, such broad generalities being Mr. Martin's bugbear both in semantics and in regionalism. Perhaps, at this point, he projects only himself, for fearful of sentimental praise, he is likely to emphasize the sad alternative of a one-stringed cynicism. There is something gone out of Indiana, he keeps insisting, much as an old man might say that the snows used to fall heavier than now—and in looking back upon the golden ages Mr. Martin is likely to scorn whatever evidence of them remains, for the reason that he always has his thesis and his tendency to oversimplify by general statements. The single word Africa, however, has never been defined in any ultimate sense—nor can Indiana be defined in terms of one idea or type. Another thing: why does Mr. Martin insist that the term Hoosier is a term of opprobrium even within the state, where many people live and die without crossing the boundary lines to another, where many people never travel horizontally but only in a perpendicular line, the distance between Indianapolis and heaven being perhaps shorter than that between Indianapolis and Cincinnati? Maybe the whole secret of this tendency to apologize for being a Hoosier, which Mr. Martin sees everywhere, lies in the fact that he was born in Ohio. For in Indiana it is customary to speak of Indiana and of "the outside world"—not through isolationism but through recognition of the interior world.

Yet for all these slight failings of vision and illumination, Mr. Martin has written an utterly delightful book, in which the limitations themselves become virtues. Looking for types, he has picked out some of the strangest birds in Indiana's history, both past and present—which may be a subtle acknowledgment, who knows, of the fact that Indiana has given birth to many individuals but to no types. He has an excellent Hoosier-trained eye for the bizarre, the strange, the colorful, the anomalous, the paradoxical—and is at his best when he forgets, as he does almost constantly, that he ought to have some formula to explain this all in one sweeping blow. He shows fine discernment for the vulgar truth and the outrageous personality and the ironic structure of life. Into his gay, provocative pages he has introduced not only a few famous men, such as Eugene V. Debs, Theodore Dreiser, Paul Dresser, Paul V. McNutt, but also many characters of local fame, some not heard of except by the Hoosier who knows all these people, their quirks and eccentricities and habits of mind. Mr. Martin's ear for dialogue is fantastically good. There is not much of the particular that has missed this seeker after the typical in his travels about the state of Indiana, where he has obviously interviewed many political bosses and many country editors and many old women in sun bonnets. The book contains fascinating stories and character studies, both of dead souls and of the living, which would interest any student of human nature whatever, just because of the grotesque individual color, just because the bird is strange. And for this reason alone it should do much to upset the usually accepted idea that Main Street is a dull-minded place, for here its phantasmagoria is shown as well as its diversity of interests and attitudes.

The plan is roughly chronological—the first section being a rapid survey of Indiana as a whole, viewed within the framework of the State Fair (a rather insubstantial framework for so great a subject!); the second section sketching the pre-Civil War background and Senator Ned Hannegan, son of the West, who made love to the Queen of Prussia; the third section showing how the Civil War changed Indiana from a neglected agrarian state on the frontier to a manufacturing state weighty in national affairs—how the rustic's clothing still hides the millionaire. The fourth section, certainly most charming, covers the 1880's, 1890's, and 1900's, the period of The Magnificent Ambersons, of turreted houses and marble statues in full dress. Lew Wallace built Indianapolis's first apartment building with the proceeds from "The Prince of India." James Whitcomb Riley, a thin, puckish man, became Indiana's poet laureate who, standing on the curb in front of the old Denison Hotel, once told a friend: "I was just thinking what an awful humiliation it must be to an Almighty God to create a universe, and then have to submit it to Ambrose Bierce and Bob Ingersoll for criticism." There are many exciting characters in this section; sketches of automobile magnates such as Carl Fisher, who once advertised that he would throw a bicycle off the highest building in town and that the person who retrieved it would get a new one—and the event took place, of course, as scheduled. The fifth section of the book deals with Eugene V. Debs and the Hapgoods, who were men in revolt against the capitalism which had produced the golden age—and the last section brings Indiana up to date. Four gentlemen from Indiana are discussed—D. C. Stephenson, Klansman, murderer of a woman who had the presence of mind to buy a hat during the long assault upon her; Court Asher, isolationist from the Jurdon valley, a man who changed from bootlegging to red-baiting but found the latter a less lucrative performance, a man who in his restless career went all over the world, to Erie, New York, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Detroit; Ned Gorrell, country editor who rather reeks of the typical; and the present governor, Ralph F. Gates, to be distinguished mainly by the fact of his being merely one of many governors like him.

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All in all, this is an adventuresome book—its sources being, as the author says, newspapers and newspapermen, labor organizers, manufacturers, workingmen, chamber-of-commerce secretaries, policemen, politicians, local historians, merchants, press agents, housewives, lawyers, miners, doctors, insurance men, realtors, taxicab drivers, legionnaires and other veterans, farmers, farm politicians, hotel men, business men, undertakers, professors, Presbyterians, Methodists, Kiwanians, waitresses, retired madames, and other people who need not be classified by trade or faith. To wit, it is an Indiana book, one which should be included in every library of Americana.

MARGUERITE YOUNG

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE D'Oyly Carte Opera Company is scheduled to be with us for a longish visit, and it is a great pleasure to be able to report that age has not withered it. The nine years which have passed since the company last was here may not count for much so far as Gilbert and Sullivan are concerned, but it is a considerable period in the life of an individual or an organization, even more in the memory of a spectator given to idealizing the past. Was the group really, so everyone was asking, as good as we thought, and is it as good as that now? On the basis of what I have seen so far my own answer to the last part of the question would be, "Yes and better." Nine years ago I was beginning to think that there was some slight tendency to fall into a dutiful if respectful routine, but there is no hint of anything of the sort in the current productions. Everyone seems to feel that it is great fun to be singing Gilbert and Sullivan, and the result is something eagerly fresh. "Trial by Jury," given as a curtain raiser for "The Pirates of Penzance," was an especially impressive demonstration of what can still be done, for this early piece was made more effective than I have ever known it to be, not only because it was well sung but also because the general stage management pulled it together to give it clear style and a clear shape.

Those who heard the company on its previous visits will be glad to know that it now combines the charm of the novel with the charm of the familiar. Three old standbys are pleasantly conspicuous—notably the musical director, Isidore Godfrey; the first comedian, Martyn Green; and the "heavy," Darrell Fancourt. This means that such antic parts as the Lord High Executioner and the modern Major General will be done about as well as it is possible to imagine them and that the pirate king and the Mikado are in equally safe hands. But there are also some newcomers who seem destined to become favorites. Tenors are perhaps even more than usually a problem in Gilbert and Sullivan, for they have to be lyric and they sometimes have to sing highly sentimental songs, though they ought, if possible, to escape the stigmata commonly marking those who otherwise fill the bill. The D'Oyly Carte Company as now constituted has two new tenors who are highly presentable as well as vocally competent, and it has also a good new soprano in Gwyneth Cullimore. The brightest female star still remains, however, Helen Roberts, who made her first appearance in the current engagement as Mabel in "The Pirates of Penzance" and who is described on the program as "an old friend to American Savoyards," though I must confess to my shame that I do not remember her. In addition to being gay, lively, and spirited she has a perfect voice, at least for this particular part, and she sang even the tricky coloratura aria "Poor Wandering One" with effortless ease as well as with singular purity and accuracy of tone. That aria is, of course, one of the finest examples of Sullivan's musical parody, which manages to be wholly charming at the same time that it mocks a florid style.

It is too late to debate the Gilbert and Sullivan question, since neither the proponents nor the opponents of the cult are likely to be influenced in their opinion. Perhaps, however, I may be permitted to remark that I was again impressed with the fact that the limitations which Victorian convention imposed upon the pair actually worked to their advantage so importantly that it is impossible to imagine how their special style could have been developed had they been as free as a present-day writer would be to overstep certain lines. No modern writer would, for example, have been compelled to invent the resident doctor of divinity ready to marry the pirates to their female victims, but nothing which that modern writer would have implied concerning the imminence of rape would have been half so funny or, to speak frankly, half so scabrous as Gilbert's sly propriety. And what is true of a detail is equally true of the whole. Because there was so much that Gilbert and Sullivan could not say, they said superbly well what they could, and Victorianism shares with their own genius the credit for works which can come more completely to life in the contemporary theater than any other English dramatic writings between Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde. I note, by the way, that the D'Oyly Carte Company has nicely restored to the concluding chorus of "The

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Pirates of Penzance" the couplet said to have been deleted before the original production: "*Hail, House of Peers, All* Hail, All Hail, where wisdom goes by strict entail." It might help the reforms proposed by the present Labor government.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MAHLER'S Fifth Symphony —which Bruno Walter has recorded with the New York Philharmonic for Columbia (Set 718; $10.85) —is another of the huge, long-winded works in which he holds one's interest from moment to moment with the arresting and fascinating detail of his complex, individual, and masterful use of his medium—the most fascinating example of the process being the gigantic scherzo movement. And Walter's performance is another triumph of the insight and mastery which he reveals when he conducts Mahler—which, that is, enable him to marshal all this detail into a coherent and effective progression. The sound of the orchestra on the records is spacious, clear, and natural, but without the warmth and luster it should have.

That warmth and luster is missing also in the unresonantly dry and dull sound of the London Philharmonic in the performance of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" issued by RCA Victor (Set 1163; $3), in which Beecham indulges in some of his occasional perversely slow tempos. But the sound of the Boston Symphony is brilliant in the recording of a performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony (Set V-8; $13 on vinylite; I haven't heard the shellac Set 1161) that suffers from Koussevitzky's lack of feeling for continuity, especially in pace. And the sound of the Minneapolis Symphony conducted by Mitropoulos in an excellent performance of Rachmaninov's Symphony No. 2 is superbly reproduced in a recording (Set 1148; $7) that I consider sheer waste.

RCA Victor has issued the complete score of the engaging Offenbach music put together for the ballet "Gaîté Parisienne," in a burly performance (with what sounds to me like some extraordinarily sloppy timing by the castanet-player on side 2) by Fiedler with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra which is excellently reproduced (Set 1147; $5). And also a group of excerpts from Tchaikovsky's music for "The Nutcracker" that are not included in the familiar suite—principally the *pas de deux* and other dances of the winter scene and the *pas de deux* of the final scene (Set 1164; $3). I can guess at the reasons that have led some of the reviewers to pronounce them inferior to the ones in the suite, and I am amused; for if one goes by what one hears when one listens I think one must say that the music of the winter scene—especially the *pas de deux*—is some of the finest Tschaikovsky ever wrote and vastly superior to the pieces in the suite, and the final *pas de deux* is almost as good. Unfortunately Fiedler's tempos are a little too fast; but the sound of the Boston "Pops" is excellently reproduced.

I happen to prefer a simple, straightforward treatment of Franck's Symphony—like Beecham's, for example—to the usual rhetorically expansive one; but the performance that Muench recorded with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra for English Decca (Set ED-36; $9) hurries through much of the work (it is on four records instead of the usual five) and is sometimes erratic. Nor is the performance technically flawless —with some poor horn-playing in the first movement, some poorly balanced brass in the finale, and other things of the sort. But the recorded sound is spacious and rich.

Less well recorded is Muench's performance with the same orchestra of Roussel's Petite Suite Opus 39, a work I do not find interesting (Set ED-37; $5). And poorer still—with noisy high-frequency distortion in the loud passages —is the sound of a performance of the Weber-Berlioz "Invitation to the Dance" by the National Symphony under Fistoulari—a less-than-first-rate performance by a less-than-second-rate orchestra (K-1108; $2).

Occasionally I have referred to the idea—with which some writers on music have justified their writing—that the person best equipped to write about an art for the general public was not the one who could give his readers the benefit of his own insight, understanding, and judgment, but the one who operated on the same level of insight, understanding, and judgment as they. And if you have thought I was making this up, let me quote the statement of John Briggs of the New York *Post* in a recent article in *Tomorrow*—that the critic "is the mouthpiece for that great submerged mass of concert-goers who have opinions but no way of expressing them," that he "must share the tastes, viewpoint, enthusiasms, and prejudices of his readers," and that "he might well share their limitations also."

B. H. HAGGIN

MOTION PICTURE

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Letters to the Editors

Horrors!

Dear Sirs: With horrified fascination, I have read your magazine for twenty years, always suspecting that you were subversive. Now I have proof. In your cover cartoon in the issue of January 3 your artist, Mr. Berger, depicts Stalin with a navel, Truman without one. Most self-respecting Americans have navels, and yet you depict the President as lacking one—like Adam. This is clearly pro-Russian, anti-American propaganda, as J. Parnell Thomas would promptly discern. I am calling his attention to this evidence.

More in sorrow than in anger, I remain, suspiciously yours,

H. J. BARRETT

Darien, Conn., January 8

Mr. Hutchison's Errors

Dear Sirs: I am greatly flattered by the amount of attention *The Nation* has given to my book, "Will Dollars Save the World?"; but I hope you will permit me to correct for the record at least two or three of the errors in Keith Hutchison's review.

Mr. Hutchison accuses me of believing "that the proper way to create capital for recovery is to restrict consumption through inflation." I do not hold such a belief and have never held it. His assumption is apparently based on a quotation in the book from L. Albert Hahn, in which Dr. Hahn pointed out that this was *in fact* the way in which Germany created capital after World War I. Dr. Hahn, however, did not express approval of this method, and certainly I nowhere did so. My point was simply that present-day Europe's unused resources for creating its own capital are very great, and that the case of Germany after World War I illustrated how great such internal resources are. True, Germany chose one of the very worst methods of creating its own capital—inflation. But this does not prove that there were not or are not much sounder methods available.

Mr. Hutchison accuses me of "pulling my punches." "Why not," he asks me rhetorically, "say what you surely believe—that tariffs are incompatible with the sovereignty of the market and must be wiped out completely? And why are you silent about the need for abolishing price supports and other government aids to agriculture, subsidies for shipping, aviation, housing, and silver, the 'fair-trade' laws, and all such blotches on the escutcheon of our 'free-market economy'?"

Mr. Hutchison could not possibly have chosen examples more unfortunate for his case. My opinions are not, of course, in every respect precisely what he insists they ought to be: after all, it is he, not I, who insists that I am a champion of complete laissez faire. But if he had merely taken the pains to consult my book "Economics in One Lesson," published only a year and a half ago, he would have found an entire chapter devoted to exposing the chief fallacies behind the arguments for protective tariffs, an entire chapter attacking the nonsensical "parity" price program for agriculture, another chapter exposing the silliness of government efforts to boost or "stabilize" prices, an examination of the fallacies behind housing subsidies and silver subsidies, and an entire chapter on the evils and illusions of inflation.

Yet the most serious error of Mr. Hutchison is not one of fact but of taste. After accusing me of being "silent" on the very points on which I have been particularly vociferous, he asks me whether this is "because, were you really to speak your mind, the Tafts, Knutsons, and McCormicks would refuse to take you seriously? Or are you afraid of alarming the business men who sustain the National [sic] Foundation for Economic Education with tax-free donations?"

Why is it that so many people who pride themselves on being "liberals" habitually impugn the motives of those who disagree with them? What sort of retort would it be if I were to ask Mr. Hutchison whether he was afraid of writing an honest review of my book for fear of alarming his boss, Freda Kirchwey, or the financial supporters of *The Nation?* Shouldn't it be the particular care of those who have any pretenses to real liberalism to raise the level of discussion by treating economic issues on their merits, instead of stooping to feeble arguments *ad hominem?*

HENRY HAZLITT

New York, December 31

Mr. Hazlitt's Missing Planks

Dear Sirs: I admit to one careless slip in my review of Mr. Hazlitt's book: the word "National" should not have been included in the title of The Foundation for Economic Education. Apart from this Mr. Hazlitt charges me with two errors and a lapse in taste—a matter which I can only leave to the judgment of the reader.

I am sorry if I wronged Mr. Hazlitt by suggesting he wished European countries to create capital through inflation. But I must point out that in his book he supports the assertion that Europe's unused resources for creating its own capital are very great *solely* by reference to German experience after the last war. The only method of mobilizing capital resources mentioned is the one described by Dr. Hahn. I assumed, therefore, that this was the method Mr. Hazlitt himself deemed the most practical.

Moreover, as I pointed out in my review, Mr. Hazlitt advocates abandonment by European nations of all price controls, subsidies, rationing, and other forms of government interference with the market. Were this done in countries like Britain, where such controls have been effectively administered, the actual result would be a tremendous rise in the cost of living, causing a sharp restriction of consumption. At the same time profits of private enterprise would expand and so provide a savings fund for investment. Mr. Hazlitt now says that there are better ways of achieving this end. It is a pity he did not describe them more exactly in his book.

The substance of Mr. Hazlitt's second complaint seems to be that I have reviewed his latest book and not its predecessor. I was, of course, aware that he had already damned in print such interferences with the free market as

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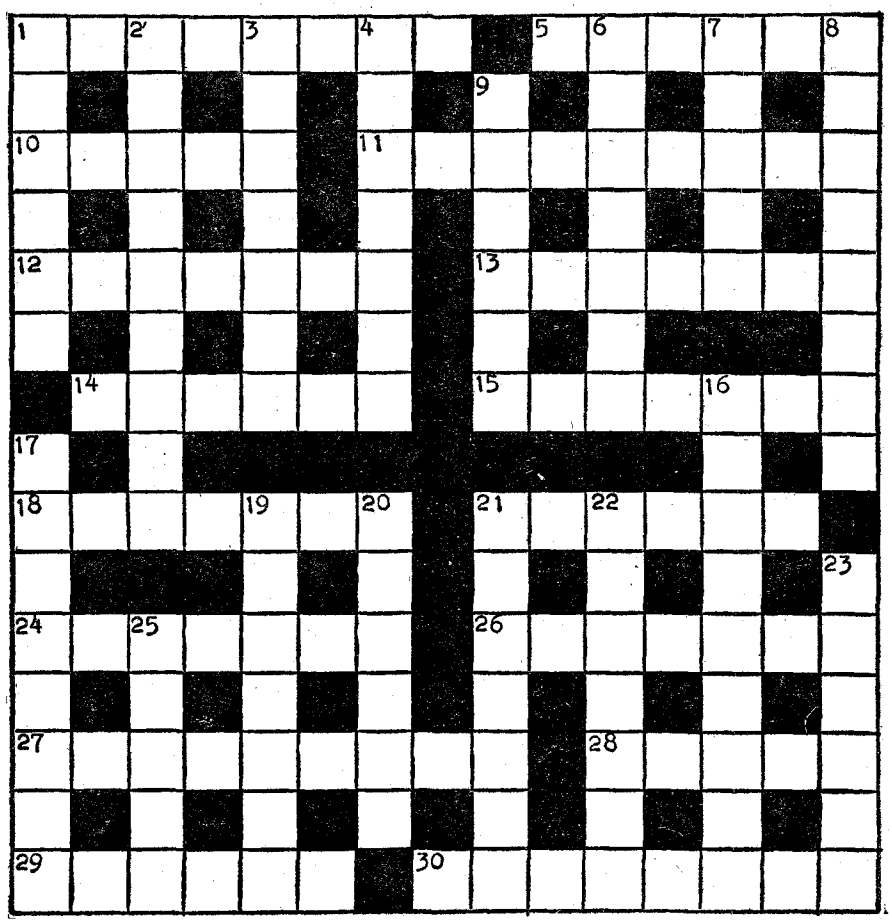
Crossword Puzzle No. 246

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Did this ringmaster construct a sort of Italian place in the sun? (8)
5 Limped out of a depression. (6)
10 Prods in four gestures. (5)
11 Body contour? (5, 4)
12 Infusion with spirit. (7)
13 Way of making the user lie at ease. (7)
14 Korea was selected for this. (6)
15 Between a passing C and a flunking E? (7)
18 Formerly sterling? (7)
21 Come to a river. (6)
24 Set many free by it. (7)
26 Can more extravagant a tale be told? (7)
27 The sword, or the man who wields it. (8) (hyphenated)
28 Loudest when last. (5)
29 This is natural! (6)
30 Even this is not live coals! (4, 4)

DOWN

1 Like an empty check-book? (6)
2 Not a heavy cruiser, certainly! (9)
3 How one proceeds to dance? (7)
4 Train as a worker. (7)
6 Sepia fish, as a hint. (7)
7 G. I. overseas. (5)
8 Memorial to Scrooge? (8)
9 Coiled, as a dog-team might be? (6)
16 Notice a hazard here? (9)
17 Repeater of clever sayings. (8)
19 It has wings on either side, and flies about. (7) (hyphenated)
20 Not liquor advertisements! (6)
21 Shorten a crossing? (7)
22 Logical result of a cut of mutton? (7)
23 How the rod is heated? (3, 3)
25 This holds the criminal in suspense. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 245

ACROSS:—1 LEGITIMATENESS; 9 GUNDECK; 10 NEGRITO; 12 ELDORADO; 15 CASTS; 19 ENOUNCE; 21 LEADPIPE; 23 ON OSSA; 27 ONE FOR THE MONEY, TWO FOR THE SHOW, THREE TO MAKE READY, AND FOUR TO GO!

DOWN:—1 LIGHT YEAR; 2 GUNBOAT; 3 THE BOWERY; 5 TANGLEWOOD; 6 NEGRO; 7 SPIRALS; 13 THE EMPEROR; 15 CONUNDRUM; 16 SIGNATORY; 18 ABANDON; 20 EASTERN; 21 LIAR; 22 PROOF; 24 ITCH.

tariffs, parity prices, silver subsidies, and so forth. That is what makes his silence on these matters in his new book rather puzzling. So, even if the question is not in good taste—pointed questions seldom are—I still want to know why Mr. Hazlitt's platform for the restoration of American free enterprise has so many missing planks.

KEITH HUTCHISON

New York, January 5

Needed: Introspection

Dear Sirs: Miss Kirchwey's musings in the issue of December 20 entitled What Are We Afraid Of? deserve hearty applause. . . . Surely, it is time for some intelligent introspection. We have been told repeatedly by psychologists and anthropologists that the American personality is heavily dominated by unconscious insecurity, guilt, and hatred.

These sciences are young; there is always the risk of exaggeration. But they have a great deal to contribute to our understanding. When shall we have the sense to give them their deserved authority?

ROGER B. KENT

New York, January 2

A People's Radio

Dear Sirs: I read with a great deal of interest the letter to the editor by Werner Cohn in your issue of November 8. We have been trying for the last few years to secure time—free time or paid time—from Philadelphia radio stations, in order to refute some of the reactionary propaganda that is being broadcast regarding many vital issues of a religious, social, or political nature. All stations in this area have declined to give or sell us time. Complaints to the Federal Communications Commission have received no attention, notwithstanding its ruling that, in controversial issues, both sides must be given equal opportunity of expression.

Our proposed solution to this problem is to acquire ownership of a station. But our application to the FCC for a station license will of course not be granted unless there is a strong demand from liberals and progressives supporting such a move. We would be glad to hear from readers of *The Nation* who believe that the radio should be accessible to all points of view. Our address is 2914 Nicholas Street.

L. ALT, Secretary,
Friendship Liberal League

Philadelphia, January 3

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